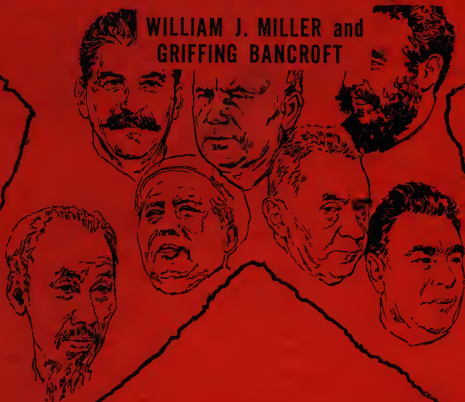




The Meaning of Communism

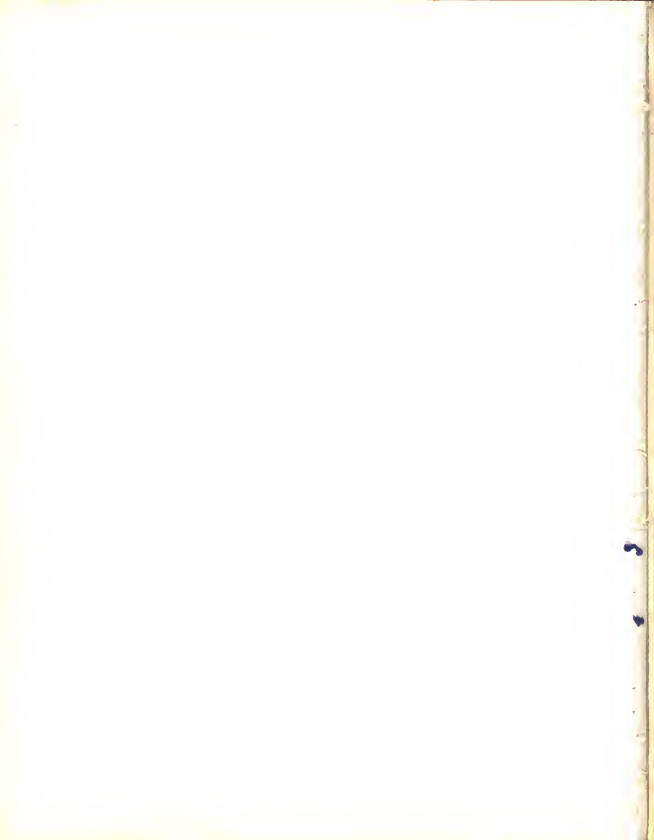
**WILLIAM J. MILLER and
GRIFFING BANCROFT**





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BOTHELL SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

**The
Meaning of
Communism**

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The Meaning of Communism

by

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CONTENTS

Introduction: Why Study Communism?	7
<i>Socialism and Communism Differentiated: Page 8</i>	
1 The Idea: Karl Marx and His Revolutionary Theory	12
2 The Organization: Lenin and the Communist Party	28
3 The Result: Hardening of the Communist Dictatorship	58
4 The Goal: World Triumph of Communism	84
<i>A Short Dictionary of Communist Jargon: Page 92</i>	
5 The Reality: Life under Communism	122
6 The Challenge: What We Can Do	168
Appendix	
Chronology	184
Glossary	185
Bibliography for Further Reading	188
Index	189
Credits	192



INTRODUCTION

Why Study Communism?

Young Americans who are now completing their education are facing a world that is full of both danger and opportunity. It might be said of this world, as Charles Dickens wrote in *A Tale of Two Cities*, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times."

The most hopeful and promising world in man's history is also the most dangerous and most challenging.

It is the most hopeful and promising because in the last half century alone science has made more progress than it has in the entire past history of humankind.

Man has unlocked the key to the atom, opening the door to a new source of power that may be as limitless as the sun.

Man has hurtled into space and can live and travel in that alien realm beyond the earth's atmosphere.

Man has penetrated the riddle of disease to such an extent that his life expectancy is being continually increased.

For the first time in all the history of man, through the desalting of ocean water, it may become possible to make the world's deserts bloom again—for many once were green. And with this great act of restoration, man may one day create abundance for the two thirds of humankind who are undernourished.

Man seems to be expanding his potentialities and capabilities into entirely new dimensions, creating incalculable revolutions in his life, his thoughts, his hopes, and his dreams. For example, with communication satellites in orbit, it is now possible to see and hear events as they take place across the seas. Soon it will be feasible for all men everywhere to witness other ways of life, share other people's problems, and profit by other people's variety of experience. In

such a shrinking world it will be far more difficult for totalitarian tyranny of any kind to wall off people from the truth about events. And, as always, the truth will tend to make men free.

Why, then, is this world of hope and promise also one of danger and challenge?

It is dangerous because the same power of the atom that promises boundless energy for peace also gives man the power to destroy the world by thermonuclear bombs. And the power of these destructive weapons is constantly increasing and they are constantly becoming available to more of the nations of the world.

It is dangerous and challenging because in this last half century a new force has risen to threaten the liberties and freedoms that men have achieved. This force has divided the world—by hate, fear, suspicion—as starkly as if a great stone wall were shutting off all those on one side from all those on the other.

There is such a wall. Both as a symbol and as a tangible fact in Berlin, it is the essence of the meaning of communism. It threatens our future because the force that raised it—communism—is implacably dedicated to destroying the freedoms that democracy cherishes: the freedom of every man to speak, write, worship as he pleases, and, above all, choose his own rulers by “the consent of the governed.” It is a wall deliberately reared to close man’s mind to truth, to prevent him from knowing and understanding his neighbor, to deprive him of his freedom, and to deny the very dignity of his humanity. It is reared to shut out the light, not to let it in; to instill fear and igno-

Socialism and Communism Differentiated

Soviet Communists define the terms “socialism” and “Communism” in a manner confusing to the Free World. They deliberately blur the important differences that distinguish the two systems, both as political philosophies and as practical political doctrines.

The History. In political terms the word “Communist” refers to the Communist party created by Lenin. It is an outgrowth of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party founded in 1898. In 1903 this party split into so-called majority (Bolshevik) and minority (Menshevik) factions. Both sought to achieve “socialism” as

defined by Karl Marx. But the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, fought for a small, secret organization and the immediate and violent overthrow of government. The Mensheviks were more like the Social Democratic parties in western Europe, which believed in bringing about socialism gradually and legally through ballot, trade unions and a large, open party.

In 1918 Lenin, to show his complete disagreement with the Mensheviks’ policy, renamed his Bolshevik group the Communist party. Shortly afterward, the Communists began to persecute all opposition parties.

rance and hatred, not to engender human compassion and fellow feeling. Wherever we look about us in the world, we can see the grim reality of this wall and the terrible importance it holds for our lives and our future.

When in 1917 the Bolsheviks overthrew the legal government of Russia, the extent of Communist control was measured by the city limits of Petrograd (now Leningrad). Today communism reigns over the immense stretch of the earth's surface from East Germany through Russian Europe, across Siberia and China to the Pacific, extending as far as Tibet and North Vietnam in Southern Asia. One third of the world's people live under communism.

Communism is confident that the remaining two billion people of the world will become its subjects. "Your grandchildren . . .," former Soviet Premier Khrushchev once boasted to Americans, "will live under socialism."

But now communism itself is sharply divided and, as we shall see, evolutionary changes are taking place within it. It remains a danger to the peace of the world and a most serious challenge to our free institutions. But there are opportunities as well as dangers.

For these reasons it is important for Americans to learn everything they can about communism, its strengths and its weaknesses, how it is preached and how it is practiced, as idea and as fact.

Let us begin by seeing how the idea started in the mind of Karl Marx, the man who inspired the greatest mass movement of modern times and who was one of the most influential figures of history.

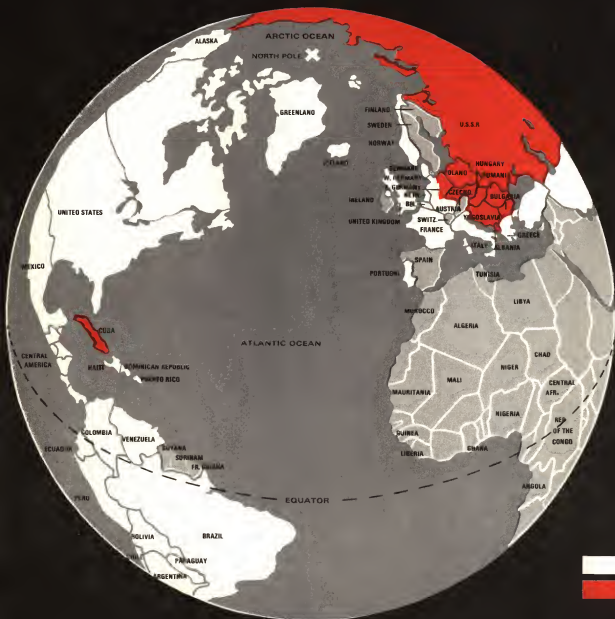
The Economics. In economic terms "socialism" means the public ownership and control of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods. "Communism," in its early sense, simply meant any system of social organization in which property is held *in common*.

The Social Democrats in Germany, France, Austria and the Scandinavian countries have largely contented themselves with pushing social reforms, such as publicly owned housing and unemployment insurance. In Great Britain the Labour party (sometimes also called Socialist) was voted to power and during its six-year term achieved some of its goals by nationalizing certain industries.

In the United States the major political parties have long since undercut American socialist programs by advocating measures such as collective bargaining, minimum wage and hour laws, social security and public power projects.

Soviet "Socialism." The Communists use the term "socialism" to describe the way of life in present Soviet society. Under it, practically every means of production and consumption are owned and operated by the state. However, some people are paid higher wages than others and some receive more goods than others. The Soviet Union is still far from Communism as Marx envisaged it many years ago: "*From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.*"

A World

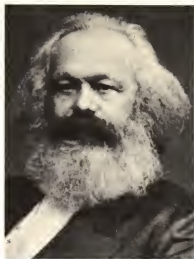


THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY of nations, joined by Free World alliances (white), embraces most of the Western Hemisphere and western Europe. Communism's only serious inroad in the Americas has been in Castro's Cuba.

in Conflict



THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES are solidly set (red) in the strategic heart-land of the immense Eurasian land mass. Yugoslavia has followed an independent Communist course. The nations colored gray are uncommitted.



KARL MARX

1 The Idea:

Karl Marx and His Revolutionary Theory

Aspecter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism.” These words of Karl Marx, father of revolutionary communism, are truer today than when they were written in 1848. For today the specter he invoked haunts the whole world.

In 1848 Marx, a brilliant, twenty-nine-year-old German journalist, issued the *Communist Manifesto* in collaboration with Friedrich Engels. They hoped that the *Manifesto*’s eloquence would inspire a revolution all over Europe through which the workers would seize power, take the factories away from their owners, and create a society free of class distinctions in which all property—land, buildings, machines, and stores—would be owned by the state.

“The theory of the Communists,” said the *Manifesto*, “may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.” The method it advocated—violent revolt—was summed up in these words: “The proletarians [workers] have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!”

The revolution advocated by Marx and Engels did not take place until the next century—and then in a country, Russia, where their analysis did not predict it. But the world and the times in which they brought forth their *Manifesto* were certainly bursting with revolutionary ferment.

An Era of Painful Transition

Actually, there were two related revolutions going on at the same time during the 1840's, one industrial, the other political. The Industrial Revolution, the greatest economic change in man's history, was already well under way, having started in England in the 1700's. In the next hundred years, machines would create abundance and prosperity beyond the wildest dreams of those philosophers who, since the start of history, had sought some way to create a good life for all. But industrialization was also creating poverty and misery as it changed men's traditional ways of living.

The Decline of Village Life. For centuries, children and grandchildren had lived in the same villages as their forebears. For generations, sons had followed family callings—a shoemaker's son made shoes, a baker's son baked bread. But great new inventions like Richard Arkwright's spinning water frame and James Watt's steam engine, both patented in 1769, disrupted the settled life of rural England. Independent craftsmen who had spun and woven wool in their own cottages began drifting away to the mills in burgeoning new factory towns like Manchester.

Watt's engine made possible the railroad, which further broke up the isolation of the farm countryside and brought new crowds to the cities hunting for factory jobs and places to live. Urban population was also swelled by people from rural areas forced to leave their homes by the Enclosure Acts. These acts allowed noblemen and country squires to consolidate their landholdings at the expense of the tenant farmer. The displaced farmers and craftsmen who crowded into the booming cities transformed large urban areas into grimy and miserable slums. New cities, similarly blighted, arose, and many villages became completely deserted.

Conditions have changed so much in the past century that it is hard for us even to imagine the life that early nineteenth-century workers lived. In their slum homes, they were herded, like animals, into human pigsties. At work, they labored from long before dawn to long after dusk in dusty, dimly lit factories. The wages that workers received for submitting to this wretched existence were scarcely enough to sustain life—so little children had to work along with their parents to add a few pennies to the family's income.

The evils of the Industrial Revolution's early years must have seemed insoluble to those who had most to gain from reform. Pop-

ular government was practically unknown in the Europe of that time. England, however, was moving toward broadly based, representative government, and its elected parliament was tackling the problems through such laws as the Factory Act of 1844.

1848: A Continent in Flames. The long-brewing political revolution erupted in 1848. Industrialization in Western Europe had begun before the people had thrown off the yoke of absolute monarchy. When Marx issued his call for a revolution, most Europeans did not yet have the basic human rights, civil liberties, and constitutional government that Americans had proclaimed in 1776.

In 1848 all Europe was astir with demands for the "unalienable rights" of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness asserted by Jefferson in the American Declaration of Independence. The example of free, prosperous, expanding America was itself a powerful spur to political change. Even more important was the French Revolution of 1789, with its slogan of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Though its goals were not wholly realized before it gave way to the imperialism of Napoleon, the French Revolution did give other Europeans a vital hope: that revolution was indeed an effective way to bring on both political and social change.

In the Austrian Empire, the Hungarians and other nationalities chafed under the reactionary chancellor Prince Metternich. Russia's

Seeds of Revolution: Inhuman Working Conditions



A WOMAN MINERWORKER crawls like a beast of burden, dragging a cartload of coal through a low, narrow passage. Marx argued that revolution was the only way to end such conditions. Instead, the British—spurred by pictures like this—legislated mining reforms in 1842.

FACTORY WORKERS' HOMES are jammed together in alleys and filthy streets (right). City populations mushroomed as the Industrial Revolution lured workers from farm and village to jobs in mills and factories. As they crowded into cities, slums soon developed.



Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855) ruled serfs who were hardly better off than slaves. Prussia's King Frederick William IV ran a state whose people had little personal liberty.

France was under the comparatively liberal and constitutional rule of King Louis Philippe. But the French factory system, like most in continental Europe, was extremely oppressive to its workers.

Revolt came in 1848 as the people of Paris barricaded the streets and seized the government. They set up a provisional government whose eleven members included four representatives of a workingmen's party. This government marked the establishment of the Second French Republic.

Revolts Spread. Similar revolutions were sweeping through Germany, Italy, and Austria. Workers erected street barricades in Berlin, and King Frederick William IV of Prussia was forced to take off his hat to the dead—"the heroes fallen in the glorious struggle for social and political liberty." In Italy, a great popular hero named Giuseppe Mazzini swept to power and for some months was the virtual ruler of a republic of Rome. The Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth set off a revolution in Hungary that helped force Emperor Ferdinand I to abdicate. Of the major European powers, only England (the most industrially advanced nation) and Russia (the least) were free of revolution that year.



A CHILD WORKER is whipped by a foreman in a British cotton mill. Child labor was a major evil of early industrialization.

All these revolutions were short-lived. Within little more than a year the revolutionary movement collapsed, and frightened rulers who suppressed the uprisings installed new tyrannies to forestall any recurrence of rebellion. But the revolts were indicative of Europe's yearning for political and social change. It was in this electric atmosphere that Marx and Engels rumbled the verbal thunder of the *Communist Manifesto*, whose lines were to become increasingly powerful with each passing decade.

The Education of Karl Marx

Karl Marx (1818-1883) came to the study of capitalism and communism by the surprising route of religious philosophy. In the quiet Rhineland town of Trier, where his father was a prosperous lawyer, young Karl did well in high school.

A Belief in Goodness. Marx's father was a believer in the ideas of the French philosopher Condorcet, and Marx accepted his view that man is good by nature. Through his father, Marx also gained the belief that the triumph of man's innate goodness and reason was blocked only by social, political, and religious barriers and other artificially created rules. When these barriers disappeared, a new day would dawn for the human race. All men would be equal not only in law and politics but also in their social relations with one another.

Marx was deeply versed in art and literature, thanks to a neighbor, Ludwig von Westphalen. A distinguished government official, Westphalen was attracted by the boy's powerful intellect and eagerness to learn. He took young Marx for long walks, shared with him the delights of Cervantes, Dante, Shakespeare, Homer and the Greek tragedians, and loaned him books to read.

At the age of seventeen, Marx went off to the University of Bonn, where he attended lectures on Homer's mythology, Latin poetry, and modern art, and wrote poems of his own that in later years he considered rather juvenile. After a year at Bonn, he continued his studies at the University of Berlin.

In 1841 he was invited to contribute to a small newspaper published in Cologne. In less than a year he was its chief editor. Marx changed it from a somewhat liberal journal to a violently radical one—more opposed to the government than any other German publication. The government tried to censor it, but Marx usually outsmarted the censors. Finally, in April 1843, further publication of the newspaper was banned.

In the same month, Marx married and moved to Paris, where he became the coeditor of a magazine. Earlier he had been introduced to Friedrich Engels, the wealthy son of a German cotton manufacturer. Now Engels sent Marx an article he had written. From this time onward, a lifelong friendship and close collaboration developed.

The French government forced Marx to leave Paris in 1845, and he went to Brussels. But it was in Paris that Marx had formulated his guiding principle. "The philosophers," he noted, "hitherto have only interpreted the world in various ways: the thing is, however, to change it." To change the world! That would be Marx's driving force through all his life.

Marx and Engels were members, for a time, of a little-known and short-lived organization called the Communist League, for which they wrote the *Manifesto*. However, they had no other group to work with until 1864, when Marx became interested and active in the International Workingmen's Association. It fell apart in 1872, largely because Marx could not tolerate opposition to his own ideas.

Marx spent the years between 1849 and 1883—virtually the rest of his days—in London, where he worked from early morning till late at night in the magnificent library of the British Museum. He was compiling notes for his monumental treatise, *Das Kapital* ("Capital"), enlarging and expounding upon the *Manifesto's* outlined prediction of capitalism's doom. In *Das Kapital*, Marx had little regard for anyone except the British factory inspectors who reported, with fearless honesty, the terrible conditions they found and the tricks owners used to evade the law. He drew most of his indictment of capitalism from these reports and parliamentary inquiries. Marx ignored the possibility that a society which could be so scathingly honest about its own shortcomings might find a way to remedy them. Ironically, no such public reports are, or could be, made by Communist inspectors today, nor could any foreigner use Soviet libraries as an arsenal of facts for an attack on Soviet society.

Near-Starvation in the Slums. Marx, who spent nearly all of his time writing about the material shortcomings of society, neglected the material well-being of his own wife and six children. Although he was unstinting in his love and affection for them, they often went hungry and would have starved if his friend Engels had not sent them money from time to time. One visitor to the Marxes' two-room apartment described it as follows:

There is not one clean or decent piece of furniture in either room, everything is broken, tattered, and torn, with thick dust over everything and the greatest untidiness everywhere. In the middle of the parlor there is a large old-fashioned table. . . . On it there lie manuscripts, books, and newspapers, besides the children's toys, bits and pieces from his wife's sewing basket, cups with broken rims, dirty spoons, knives, forks, lamps, an inkpot, tumblers, pipes, tobacco ash—all piled up on the same table.

The grimness of the Marx family's life is also portrayed in one of Jenny Marx's letters to a friend, telling how they were evicted from their home.



A REVOLUTIONIST'S LIFELONG FRIEND

Friedrich Engels, son of a prosperous German textile manufacturer, first saw the fate of the working class as a clerk in his father's mill in England. He was Marx's best friend, collaborator and main source of funds from the early 1840s until Marx's death in 1883.

The landlord ordered two men to take possession of all my belongings: bedding, clothes . . . even the baby's cradle and the little girls' toys so that the children wept bitterly. . . .

Next day we had to leave. It was cold and rainy. My husband tried to find a lodging, but as soon as he said we had four children no one would take us in. At length a friend helped us. We paid what was owing, and I quickly sold all my beds and bedding, in order to settle accounts with the chemist, the baker, the butcher, and the milkman, who had heard [about our financial problems] . . . and had hastened to send in their bills.

Nor would their life ever be much better. Marx once wrote his friend Engels that he could no longer leave the house because he had pawned his clothes. He was arrested on suspicion of theft when he tried to pawn his wife's family silver. The silver bore the crest of the Duke of Argyll, from whom Jenny's grandmother was descended. "My wife cries all night," Marx wrote, "and that infuriates me."

Fairy Tales and Picnics. Marx loved children and they loved him. The children of the neighborhood called him "Daddy Marx." He would tell fairy tales to his children, take them on picnics to nearby Hampstead Heath, lead them to the first spring flowers.

But Marx's children were not to know continued happiness. Three of his six children, including his two sons, Guido and Edgar, died when young; two of his daughters committed suicide when they were grown women. When his tiny daughter, Franziska, died of bronchitis, there was no money even for a coffin. "Her small lifeless body rested in our little back room," Jenny Marx wrote in her diary, "whilst all went together into the front room, and when night came we made up beds on the floor." A friend finally lent a small sum for a cheap coffin. Amid such personal poverty, humiliation, and bereavement, the relentless, aging revolutionist worked on at his task to change the world. Among other things, he suffered from boils. After completing a savage description of "The Working Day," he once noted: "I hope that the bourgeoisie [capitalists] as long as they live will have cause to remember my carbuncles." Indeed, they did.

How the Communist Idea Began

Neither communism nor socialism (see definitions on pages 8-9) were brand-new ideas that sprang full-grown from Karl Marx's mind. Throughout man's history, philosophers have searched for ways to create a society in which there would be happiness and well-being for all. The problem of distributing man's wealth is discussed in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, in both the Old and New Testaments, and in such recently discovered manuscripts of Biblical times as the Dead Sea Scrolls. In his book *Utopia*, published in 1516, Sir Thomas More described an imaginary, perfect island community with common ownership of property. In the early 1800's, such French philos-

A Page from the Marx Family Picture Album



SON EDGAR died when he was nine. Of the six Marx children, only three survived to maturity.



DAUGHTER LAURA wed a Cuban physician. A fine linguist, she spoke four languages with fluency.

IN LONDON the Marxes lived in poverty, harassed by creditors. This photo was taken in the 1870s.

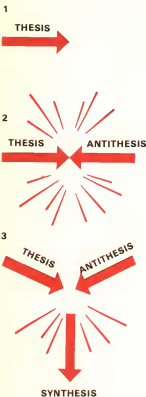


FATHER KARL at age 45 was living in London and sending articles on politics to journals in a number of countries.



WIFE JENNY, Marx's boyhood sweetheart, as a young girl was called "the enchanted princess."





HOW MARXISTS SEE CONFLICT IN HISTORY

The diagram above depicts the opposition of historical forces as viewed by Marx in his concept of "dialectical materialism." In the development of history, a force comes into being called a thesis (1). In time, as the thesis outlives its usefulness, it is attacked by an opposing thesis which develops out of it. This is called an antithesis (2). Out of their opposing tension a new force emerges called a synthesis (3). This, after it has lived its day, becomes a thesis to be opposed in turn by its opposite, or antithesis, to form a new synthesis and so on.

opponents as Saint-Simon (who fought on the side of the Americans in the American Revolution) and Charles Fourier proposed "utopian" societies in which production of all material goods—food, clothing, shelter—would be managed by the group itself, and the wealth thus produced would be distributed among all the people according to some principle of an equitable nature.

Experimental Utopias. Attempts were made, both in France and in the United States, to establish little communities governed by Fourier's ideas for an equitable life. Fourier's admirers in the United States founded a radical newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, to advance his doctrines. Its managing editor, Charles Dana, who had met Marx and was deeply impressed by him, hired him to do one or two articles a week on European affairs. The English socialist Robert Owen, who created "model" cotton mills at New Lanark in Scotland, established a community at New Harmony, Indiana, where all property was owned by the group. Nathaniel Hawthorne, the famous American novelist, helped found a community at Brook Farm in New England and wrote *The Blithedale Romance* about his experience. German refugees established communal villages in the Middle West in Zoar, Ohio, and Amana, Iowa.

These communities were established by good men with noble ideas, who hoped to eliminate the worst aspects of human society by sharing wealth and labor equally. But these so-called utopian systems had relatively short lives. What broke them up was the seemingly irrepressible human desire of every man to be his own master and, if possible, to own his own property. Marx scoffed at these small-scale experiments. In fact, he and Engels chose the term *communism* to distinguish their ideas clearly from such utopian socialism. To Marx, complete social upheaval was both necessary and inevitable in order to achieve a new society.

Marx was not the originator of all the components of his theories. What he did was to take many men's ideas and set them into a totally new framework.

Hegel and the "Dialectic." To understand the theories of Marx, it is first necessary to learn something about the German philosopher Georg W. F. Hegel, whose writings had profoundly influenced Marx while he was at the University of Berlin. The key to Hegel's thought is what he called the *dialectic*, a technical philosophical term meaning "argument," or "debate." Hegel's dialectic saw conflict, or contradiction, as the moving force of all history, thought, and existence.

To Hegel, everything in the world is constantly changing—something old dying, something new developing. One set of ideas (thesis) is violently opposed by another (antithesis), which has developed out of the first. From their clash arises a new combination (synthesis), containing the best elements of both. This synthesis becomes,

as it develops, another thesis, again generating its own antithesis. Through the clash and struggle of thesis and antithesis, the world moves closer and closer to perfection. In applying this theory to life, Hegel thought in terms of the spirit. To him, all of man's history could be understood as man's conflict with his own nature—as man coming to realize that the spirit itself was reality.

Marx and "Dialectical Materialism." Marx approved of Hegel's method but found its application mystifying. He thought Hegel had things right but had them upside down. It was not man's spirit that creates its own world. Rather, Marx concluded, it was the world around man—his material surroundings and the way he adapts to them—that determined everything about man's life.

While men liked to believe they created their laws and institutions according to their ideas and ideals of truth and justice, Marx felt it was the other way around. Every society's laws, politics, ideas of religion, and morality have developed chiefly out of the ways by which its members produced and exchanged their food, clothing, shelter, and other material goods. This is the first essential part of Marx's theories and has come to be called *dialectical materialism*.

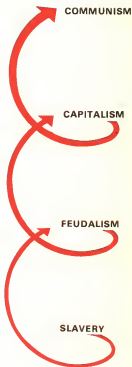
Workers Against Owners—the Class Struggle. The second point in Marx's theories is that a conflict between the working classes and the owners is inevitable. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," Marx said in the *Manifesto*.

In every era of the past, Marx wrote, a working class had struggled against an owning class—slave against master, feudal serf against lord, and, with the coming of industrial capitalism in the 1700's, factory worker against capitalist owner. But capitalism, like feudalism and other earlier systems, Marx claimed, would inevitably destroy itself because it contains the seeds of its own destruction. It produces "its own gravediggers."

Why did he think this was so? Not because capitalism was inherently evil. On the contrary, says the *Manifesto*, capitalists have been the greatest revolutionaries of their day. Marx gives them credit for overthrowing the remnants of feudalism, for rescuing the peasants "from the idiocy of rural life," for making the more civilized cities the economic centers of a country, and for opening up many backward countries to the civilizing effects of trade and culture. Says the *Manifesto*:

In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of [a single] country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency we have . . . universal inter-dependence of nations.

Much of the *Manifesto* scarcely sounds as though an enemy of capitalism wrote it. It sounds like an admirer writing about its virtues and advantages. Capitalism, Marx says, "has been the first to



THE MARXIST VIEW OF HISTORY'S FLOW

As Marx saw it, society had grown in a series of upward spirals. Each stage, though adequate for its time, wore out its usefulness and was replaced by a newer stage. The catalyst responsible for these changes, he believed, was an endless "class struggle" between the oppressed and the oppressors in every age. Marx believed the growing misery of workers under capitalism would lead to revolution and force capitalism to be replaced by the stage he thought the highest—Communism. But, in practice, where the Communist way has triumphed, it has produced new forms of oppression.

show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former migrations of nations and crusades. . . .

"The bourgeoisie [capitalists] cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society." But it is precisely this "inevitable" revolutionizing of society, he says, that makes capitalism self-destructing.

Marx and the Labor Theory of Value. Although classical economists had worked out the principles of the labor theory of value, Marx made it a foundation stone of his doctrine. From it arises the concept called *surplus value*.

If, for example, a pair of shoes sells for \$10, what gives the shoes that value? According to Marx, ultimately nothing else but the amount of labor that went into them. Even the raw material and the tools used to make the shoes have value only because of the labor that was required to make them.

If you assume that the capitalist who sells the shoes for \$10 is making a profit and that labor creates the *only* value, then where does the profit come from? Says Marx: from surplus value—the capitalist got more labor than he paid for. In effect, he "stole" it from the laborer. Marx concedes that the capitalist is not consciously a thief; rather "stealing" is an essential element of capitalism. For under the factory system labor simply is another commodity, like the leather that went into the shoes. The value of labor is determined by what it costs to "produce" it—that is, to keep the worker alive and working, to pay his rent, to feed him and his family, and to buy needed clothes.

Say that it takes \$50 a week to supply the worker's needs. Say that the worker's labor may be able to produce that amount of value in 30 hours. But he cannot work just 30 hours and quit. He has to work the hours set by the owner—in Marx's time, as much as 84 hours a week. So the extra hours of labor are "surplus value" to the owner, not only paying for his rent, machinery, and supplies but also providing what Marx considered an unwarranted profit.

Modern economists have found Marx's labor theory of value an inadequate tool for economic analysis. Since this theory considers human effort and skill the only productive factors, it is impossible to figure the cost—and, consequently, a realistic price—of equally important *nonhuman* productive elements such as land and capital.

Depressions and Deepening Crises. Under Marx's application of the labor theory of value, factory owners have a supposedly "free ride" on labor, but this situation will not continue automatically. The owners are competing with each other. To continue to compete, they have to expand faster. To expand faster requires more work-

MARX'S TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

A quirk of Marx's nature was his ability to see the profound greatness of Abraham Lincoln's personality but be blind to his own flaws. Right after Lincoln's assassination Marx wrote this eloquent tribute: "... he was a man, neither to be browbeaten by adversity, nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by blind haste, slowly maturing his steps, never retracing them . . . tempering stern acts by the gleam of a kind heart, illuminating scenes dark with passion by the smile of humor, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandiloquence of pomp and state; in one word, one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great, without ceasing to be good. Such, indeed, was the modesty of this great and good man, that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr." This tribute is startling when contrasted with an appraisal of Karl Marx's own character by one of Lincoln's friends, Carl Schurz (*opposite, far right*).

ers, and to get them the capitalists have to compete with each other. This, says Marx, will drive up wages and drive down the rate of profits. To meet the threat of rising wages, factory owners will introduce more and more laborsaving machinery. This creates unemployment, and the scramble of jobless workers for the smaller number of available jobs forces wages right back down again.

Since, according to Marx, labor is the source of all value, the more the capitalist reduces his need for labor by using machinery, the more his profits shrink. Only by getting ahead of his competitors can he hope to make a profit, so he will redouble his efforts to cut costs through new laborsaving machinery. But since other factory owners are also doing that, the rate of profit will continue to fall. Prices are cut until they fall below cost. The workers displaced by machines cannot afford to buy goods, so consumption falls too. All the capitalists scramble to dump goods on the market, and the smaller, weaker capitalists go bankrupt. The bigger, stronger factory groups then absorb the smaller ones, but the bigger they get, the bigger the smash when they fall. During these repeated crises, the workers—whom Marx called the *proletariat*—are forming protective associations, or unions, to try to make themselves stronger in relation to the owners.

From his analysis of how capitalism works, Marx theorized that the stage was set for the doom of capitalism. In its simplest form, his argument might be summarized this way:

Capitalism would destroy itself by bringing together enormous combinations of money, modern machinery, and workers organized into units so vast as to be virtual armies. All of this would be a completely rational and efficient way of organizing production—except that the concentration of ownership in the hands of fewer and fewer men, coupled with the growth of the labor force, inevitably would lead to economic conflict between the owners and the workers. Then, Marx predicted, “this [capitalist] husk is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.” If the workers took ownership from the few owners, the productive process would become completely rational and the periodic crises would not recur. Revolution, Marx therefore felt, was inevitable, for the capitalist system itself made it so.

“The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.” It is essential to note one other key point in Marx’s theories, because of the great abuses to which it subsequently led.

This point is raised in his discussion of what would happen after the workers overthrew the ruling class, or capitalists, and their government, which he considered merely a “police force” to protect their property. Marx said there would be a “dictatorship of the proletariat”—that is, a reign of the working-class majority over the capitalist minority. This “dictatorship,” however, would not be oppressive,

LINCOLN’S FRIEND ON MARX

Lincoln’s good friend, Carl Schurz, who became a Union general in the Civil War, was a German who fled his country after the mid-century revolts. In 1848 Schurz had met Karl Marx, about whom he later said: “[Marx] enjoyed the reputation of having . . . great learning, and . . . I was all the more eager to gather words of wisdom from the lips of that famous man. This expectation was disappointed in a peculiar way. Marx’s utterances were indeed full of meaning, logical and clear, but I have never seen a man whose bearing was so provoking and intolerable. To no opinion, which differed from his, he accorded the honor of even a condescending consideration. Everyone who contradicted him he treated with abject contempt . . . or with opprobrious aspersions. . . . I remember most distinctly the cutting disdain with which he pronounced the word ‘bourgeois,’ and as a ‘bourgeois,’ that is as a detestable example of the deepest mental and moral degeneracy he denounced anyone that dared to oppose his opinion.”



THE TUILERIES PALACE BURNS AS COMMUNARDS WHO SEIZED THE CITY OF PARIS RETREAT. MARX SAW THE

since the conditions that created conflict and resulting oppression would have been removed. The state, in fact, would soon "wither away." Man would be free to develop all his latent capacities for good and his natural instincts for art, poetry, the beautiful. And life in this utterly new society would have as its golden rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Many years later, these ideas of a benevolent "dictatorship of the proletariat" and of an ideally perfect distribution of responsibilities and rewards would be perverted by the Marxian disciples in Russia. These men would create a vicious dictatorship and a government



1871 REVOLT AS A STEP TOWARD HIS "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" AND WARMLY ENDORSED IT.

which, far from "withering away," would become ever more powerful and concentrated in ever fewer hands.

Marxist Predictions in the Light of History. Marx's great revolution of the workers, inevitable in his theory, was not so inevitable after all. The only popular revolt in Marx's later life was the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871. In this revolt, workers did for a time seize control of Paris and its government. But in the process the Commune executed hundreds of innocent people. While all Europe watched these events with horror and disgust, Marx decided that this was his "dictatorship of the proletariat" come to pass.



FROM MARX TO KHRUSHCHEV

This is the cover page of Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, from an edition that was circulated within Germany during the 1848 revolts. At that time Marx wrote: "What the bourgeoisie [capitalist group] . . . produces above all are its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat [workers] are equally inevitable." In 1962, Khrushchev was making the same prediction, although in slightly different words: "I am not a sorcerer . . . but I can tell you the day is not far away when capitalism will crumble, and I am as certain of it as the sun's rising tomorrow."

He published an address in the name of the International Workingmen's Association warmly approving the Commune and all its acts of bloody violence.

The Communards soon went down to defeat, and the political parties that based their goals on Marx's teachings began to turn their attention to political and legislative reforms instead of bloody revolution. Though he felt that reform measures had little permanent value, Marx himself had noted the possibility of such peaceful "revolutions." In the *Communist Manifesto* he conceded that political pressure had been able to reduce the legal British working day to 10 hours. Certainly reforms were needed, for workers did not even win the right to vote in Belgium and Sweden, for example, until after 1890, seven years after Marx's death. They won it then only through general strikes.

Most of Marx's basic assumptions were either wrong or vastly oversimplified. In the highly industrialized West, whose problems were Marx's chief concern, his prophecies of doom never came to pass. They were proved wrong by capitalism's ability to purge its worst evils without revolution. Indeed, Marx himself admitted the possibility: "We do not deny that there are countries like England and America, and I might add, even Holland, where the worker may attain his object by peaceful means." As history would prove, this one sentence contained more truth than did his massive analysis of capitalism's downfall. Capitalism was destroyed only in Russia and China—two countries in which it never fully developed. And capitalism there was destroyed not by "inevitable" history, as Marx thought, but by the deliberate action of fanatics—with disastrous results.

Marx's Place in History. Karl Marx deserves to be remembered, but for reasons quite different from his prophecies. His method of looking at history—of looking at and analyzing every aspect of a society in terms of how people produce goods and earn a living—gave new tools to everyone who came after him. These tools are still being used by historians, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, critics, and creative artists. In this sense, Karl Marx made his contribution to Western thought. Marx felt his insights would liberate man, not enslave him. It is history's irony that his followers used these theories to fashion some of the most pitiless tyrannies the world has ever known.

THE CHAPTER IN REVIEW

Understanding What You Have Read:

1. What were the new problems brought about in Europe by the change from an agricultural to an industrial way of life? Were the evils caused by industrialization the only problems faced by the lower classes of Europe? Explain. Why was England, the first nation to be affected by the Industrial Revolution, able to solve its problems by peaceful means? Why were most European nations ready for revolt in 1848?

2. Summarize the revolutionary events that were taking place in European nations during the 19th century which convinced Karl Marx that the class struggle between workers and capitalists was bound to occur. Why did all of these revolutions fail?

3. Many feel that a man's beliefs and actions are determined by the way in which various events in his life affect him and his thinking. Summarize the important influences in the life of Karl Marx that led him to develop his theories.

4. Was Karl Marx the first to advocate communal ownership of property? Explain your answer. In your opinion, why did these early attempts at social reform fail?

5. Define these terms used in connection with Karl Marx's theories: (a) dialectical materialism; (b) thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; (c) the class struggle; (d) surplus value; (e) bourgeoisie; (f) proletariat; (g) dictatorship of the proletariat; (h) the state withering away.

6. Define and contrast: (a) capitalism; (b) socialism; (c) communism. Do these terms have different meanings when they are used by different persons? Explain.

7. Was Karl Marx ever willing to concede that workers could achieve some measure of economic justice for themselves through nonviolent means?

8. Has history proved Karl Marx's basic assumptions and predictions true, or false? Give facts to support your answer.

9. Most of what has been written about Karl Marx has been critical and negative. From the reading you have done, can you see any positive characteristics of his personality or his theories?

10. What is meant by the sentence that appears in Chapter 1: "It is history's irony that his followers used these theories to fashion some of the most pitiless tyrannies the world has ever known?"

Questions for Discussion:

1. Writers over the centuries have used their pens to attack social, economic, political, and religious evils. Discuss the amount of influence these writers have had in bringing about reforms.

2. The idealistic movements of the 19th century such as Brook Farm and New Harmony failed. Can you think of any idealistic movements today which are designed to solve the problems of the 20th century? Do you think they will achieve their aims or even have any influence?

3. Hegel believed abstract ideas direct man as he develops his laws and culture. Marx wrote: "With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." Discuss the validity and weaknesses of each philosopher's point of view.

4. The central concepts of Marxist economic theory are the "labor theory of value" and "surplus value." Can you state Marx's economic theory in your own words? What are the flaws in this theory? Do you think it would be possible in a free society to have large-scale industry without the profit motive? How do you explain the fact that the guilds of the Middle

Ages were able to operate without the profit motive?

5. How can you explain the fact that while Karl Marx taught that the industrial nations were doomed, the first nation to fall to communism was essentially a semi-industrial, semifederal state, Russia? Which nations are regarded as Communist-dominated? Of these, which contained the industrial seeds of self-destruction described by Marx as the necessary conditions for communism? Many of the newly emerging nations of Africa and Asia, as well as some of our Latin American neighbors, seem to be moving toward communism. Which of these nations meet Marx's conditions?

Activities:

1. The role of Marx's friend and benefactor, Friedrich Engels, is given little attention. Prepare a short biography of Engels, explaining the apparent contradiction of a wealthy man advocating a philosophy which, if successfully carried out, would have meant his financial ruin.

2. Report to the class comparing conditions in factories in the early 19th century and today.

3. Utilizing your skill in using library resources, obtain some original writings by Karl Marx and write a letter to him agreeing or disagreeing with one of the points he makes.

4. Prepare a three-column chart listing the many problems the Industrial Revolution brought to the United States, measures which have been taken to solve each problem, and suggestions to further solve each problem.

5. Conduct a "Meet the Press" program in which one student plays the role of Karl Marx, and several other students act as reporters from different publications questioning Marx on the validity of his theories and the accuracy of his predictions.



LENIN

2 The Organization:

Lenin and the Communist Party

In 1883, the year that Karl Marx died, a thirteen-year-old boy named Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov was living an uneventful life in the backwater Russian town of Simbirsk (now known as Ulyanovsk), on the Volga River. This quiet boy from this humdrum town would one day change the world more violently than even Marx's wildest dreams. The world now knows him by the revolutionary pseudonym he took in 1901, N. Lenin.

Within a red granite mausoleum in Red Square in Moscow, Lenin's embalmed body lies perpetually on view, an eternal light playing on his waxen face, reddish-blond beard, and bulging, bald head. Each year, millions of people come to view the man who created the first Communist state through the force of his implacable will.

In doing so, Lenin turned Marx's theories upside down. Marx thought the broad march of history determined events; Lenin proved that one man, ruled by a fanatic obsession, could alter history. Marx thought the inevitable tide of events would bring the

working-class *majority* to power; Lenin proved that Marx's ideas could bring a ruthless, determined *minority* to power. Marx and Engels thought the state would "wither away" into classless communism. Lenin made the Communist state all-powerful, a worse autocracy than that of the tsars.

How Lenin Changed the World

Except for Lenin, Karl Marx might be chiefly remembered as a man who had a brilliant way of guessing wrong about the future, and Marxism might have no political meaning today, remaining merely an influence on the study of economics, history, and sociology.

Because of Lenin, almost every non-Communist country has a Communist party, some of which have overthrown governments. This worldwide organization, under varying degrees of control, is Lenin's creation. Many of these parties, by operating secretly, penetrating larger organizations, and forming "popular fronts," have exercised power and influence far beyond their numbers. It was Lenin who taught them this technique. Many true Communists are ready to go to prison, even ready to give their lives if need be, for the cause. Lenin set this example, too. He never spared himself, never flinched at danger, never wavered in the pursuit of his single, obsessive goal of violent revolution and destruction of all enemies.

Lenin had a friendly smile and a hearty, ready laugh. Yet, without a quiver, he took responsibility for the deaths of thousands of men and women during the Bolshevik Revolution. "How can one make revolution without executions?" he calmly asked.

The Man and His Times

The extremes of violence that characterized the Bolshevik Revolution had their roots in an old tradition of brutality and indifference to suffering that still governed Russian life when Lenin was born. To Russians of the mid-nineteenth century, the kind of rights and freedoms Americans had enjoyed since their revolution were story-book tales with no relevance to their own existence. For centuries, Russia had known only autocracy under the rule of the tsars.

It is difficult for Americans to comprehend how absolute the tsar's power was. His right to rule was part of the unquestioned dogma of Russian life. There was no constitution, no congress, no right to vote. A few thousand nobles, the church, and the state owned most of the land. Until a decade before Lenin's birth, more than a third of the millions of Russian people were serfs, bound to their masters and forbidden to leave the land, where they worked as virtual slaves.

Nonetheless, serfs did exercise a certain responsibility. They maintained a form of primitive communal living in their village com-



**AN ARISTOCRAT
WHO HATED SERFDOM**

Ivan Turgenev, one of Lenin's favorite authors, was exiled to his estate in 1852 for condemning the evils of serfdom in his writings. He told the story of his partially paralyzed grandmother who, angry with a serf waiting on her, knocked the boy unconscious, placed a pillow on his head and, sitting on it, suffocated him. Turgenev's mother ordered serfs whipped, exiled to Siberia or enlisted into the army at her whim. "Over my subjects," he reported her saying, "I rule as I like and I am not answerable to anyone for them."

munes, in which they decided as a body such matters as time of planting, division of labor and lands, allocation of harvests, and assessment of taxes. Once Alexander II came to power in 1855, he decided to liberate the serfs, and he did so in 1861. But they were charged such heavy prices for the tiny plots they got that to pay the full cost took decades. It was freedom in little more than name.

The Burden of Guilt. The only Russians fortunate enough to obtain an education were children of the nobility, of professional people, or of civil servants like Lenin's father. This educated class was known as the *intelligentsia*, or intellectuals.

Many of these young students felt weighted down with a sense of personal guilt for the sufferings of the millions of downtrodden serfs. They became attracted to the teachings of the Russian Populists, such as Herzen, Chernishevsky, Bakunin, and others, who believed Russia, because of its peasant communes, could lead the world in a peaceful transition to socialism. They hated capitalism as much as feudalism and thought that socialism built around agriculture could save Russia from having to undergo the evils of Western Europe's factory systems.

One of the leading influences on the young intellectuals was Mikhail Bakunin, a nobleman and former artillery officer. From exile he urged the abolition of hereditary property, the church, and even the state itself. He favored giving the land to communes and the factories to the workers. He was the most revolutionary of those who encouraged the young intellectuals to "go to the people," to go into the villages and work among the peasants, and to rouse the villagers' social consciousness. Many young people did so. Dressed as peasants, they learned trades as shoemakers or carpenters and lived in the villages. But the peasants themselves distrusted them and often beat or drove out their would-be helpers. Moreover, the counterfeit peasants were easily spotted by the tsar's police, who sent them off to jail or exile in Siberia for their pains.

"Do Not Dream, but Act!" Another important revolutionist was Peter Tkachev, a Populist theoretician. Since his words would have a profound effect on Lenin's later life, they are worth remembering. Tkachev called for a small, secret conspiracy of professional revolutionists. His program was bold and ruthless:

On the banner of the revolutionary party, a party of action rather than a party of reasoning, may be inscribed only the following words: struggle against the government, struggle against the existing order of things, struggle to the last drop of blood—to the last breath. . . .

On another occasion Tkachev wrote: "Do not dream, but act! Make a revolution and make it as fast as possible." According to Tkachev, not the people but only a hard, organized minority could prevail against the tsar:

Neither now nor in the future will the common people by its own power bring on a social revolution. We alone, the revolutionary minority, can and should do that as soon as possible.

Later Lenin was to adopt this thought as his own, substituting only the Marxist word "proletariat" for Tkachev's "common people."

Elsewhere, a secret, murderous conspiracy known as The People's Will, an outgrowth of the Populist movement, had gone into action. On March 13, 1881, as Tsar Alexander II was returning to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, a young revolutionist threw a bomb at him. The tsar was not hurt, but some of the Cossacks in his guard were wounded. Alexander got down from his carriage to speak to them. At that moment another revolutionist threw a second bomb, which exploded right between the tsar's feet, mortally wounding him. He was carried into the palace to die. Among the many members of his family who came to bid him farewell was his twelve-year-old grandson, Nicholas—a future tsar who would one day die a similarly violent death and whose murder would end the long reign of the monarchy.

Lenin's Boyhood. Lenin (1870–1924), whose followers were to shoot down Tsar Nicholas and his family, was the son of Ilya Ulyanov, a man who served the tsar well and faithfully. Papa Ulyanov was a provincial school inspector in Simbirsk, a conservative in politics, and a devout member of the Russian Orthodox Church. His wife, Maria Alexandrovna, was the daughter of a physician. They had three boys and three girls. Lenin, who was named Vladimir, was the third-born.

Vladimir worshiped his brother Alexander—called Sasha—who was four years older. But the younger boy liked swimming, fishing, or horseback riding better than books. Sasha became seriously concerned with social problems. He read many articles on the subject and was particularly influenced by a novel, by the Populist Chernishevsky, called *Chto Delat?* ("What Is to Be Done?"). This described a future socialist utopia that would be a "land of milk and honey." It became a fundamental guide for young intellectuals, who saw themselves, in Chernishevsky's words, as "men of the new age." They considered themselves revolutionists who would build the new order.

Sasha went to the University of St. Petersburg, where he fell in with other young intellectuals. At first he held aloof from political activism, but after some close friends were arrested, he helped organize a branch of the secret terrorist group The People's Will. In 1887 Sasha was arrested when the group's plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III was discovered.

When this terrible word came, Sasha's mother went to St. Petersburg to plead for his life. (Papa Ulyanov had died the year before.) She knew many liberal people and hoped to find help. But now all turned their backs. This made a lasting impression on Vladimir,



**A FAMOUS AUTHOR
SENTENCED TO DIE**

Feodor Dostoevsky, a great Russian novelist, was the son of a doctor killed by his serfs for his drunken cruelty. In 1849 Dostoevsky was arrested with a group of friends who had met to discuss utopian socialism. A military court ordered 20 of them shot. When the men were standing in front of a firing squad they were told that the Tsar had commuted their sentences to hard labor in Siberia. Dostoevsky made use of this terrible experience in his book *The Idiot*, when he described the thoughts of a condemned man during the last moments of life.

A REVOLUTIONIST AND HIS CATECHISM

Sergei Nechaiev, a revolutionist admired by Lenin, was the son of an Orthodox priest. Together with Mikhail Bakunin, he wrote the *Catechism of a Revolutionist*, which seems to describe what Lenin later was to be: "The Revolutionist is a doomed man. He has no private interests . . . of his own. His entire being is devoured by one purpose, one thought, one passion—the revolution . . . he has severed every link with . . . the entire civilized world; with the laws, good manners, conventions and morality of that world. He . . . continues to inhabit it with only one purpose—to destroy it."

Sergei Nechaiev scared even his fellow revolutionist Bakunin, who recorded: "Nechaiev stops at nothing, and is as ruthless with himself as he is with others." To him, "all the members should serve as . . . tools in the hands of [the] leaders. It is permissible to deceive . . . members, compromise them in every way, rob . . . and even murder them if necessary." Before dying in prison, Nechaiev did turn to murder (see note at far right margin).

who developed a deep hatred for all the middle-class "liberals."

On May 20, 1887, at 3:30 in the morning, Sasha and four doomed comrades were taken from their cells in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. They embraced one another, knelt before the cross, and, refusing the blindfold, walked unflinchingly to the hangman's noose. When seventeen-year-old Vladimir in Simbirsk read the newspaper telling of his brother's execution, he threw it to the floor and cried: "I'll make them pay for this! I swear it!"

A Revolutionist Is Born. For the first time Vladimir realized that Sasha's devotion to his principles was so strong that he had been willing to give up his life rather than recant. Determined to discover the ideas that his brother believed in, Vladimir spoke to everyone who had known Sasha during that last year. Remembering the deep impression that *Chto Delat?* had made upon Sasha, Vladimir read it for days on end, studying every word with such intensity that many years later he could recall its least significant details.

It was from this book that Vladimir drew his vision of a Russian utopia. Above all, Vladimir envisioned a new order to be built by Chernishevsky's "men of the new age."

One friend in Simbirsk did not desert the family. He was Feodor Kerensky, director of the Gymnasium, who awarded the graduating Vladimir his gold medal in spite of Sasha's fate. Moreover, Kerensky suggested that Vladimir stay out of Moscow and St. Petersburg because of his late brother's notoriety, and he wrote a letter of recommendation to support Vladimir's application for admission to the University of Kazan, where Papa Ulyanov had studied.

Vladimir did not last long at the University of Kazan. In December of 1887 university officials discovered his identity. He was arrested, quickly expelled from the university, and ordered to leave Kazan.

Vladimir spent the next year at his mother's home, studying feverishly. He was twice denied permission to reenter the university. Soon afterward, his mother sold the home in Simbirsk and bought a small estate near Samara. After repeatedly beseeching the authorities, his mother finally obtained permission for him to take the law examinations in St. Petersburg. In little more than a year, Vladimir read through the whole four-year university course in law and in the 1891 examinations he received the highest grade. The following year he started to practice law in Samara.

Here Vladimir discovered Karl Marx's works. Since some of these were available only in German, he mastered German. After studying these books, he applied the analytical methods Marx had used on British capitalism to Russian statistics. He also read all the reports and economic studies he could get hold of and all the writings of liberal economists.

Famines and Strikes. The times were ripe for the emergence of young revolutionists. In 1891, a terrible famine had swept Russia.

Industrialization, although far behind that of Western Europe, was advancing rapidly. Starving peasants were fleeing to the cities, seeking factory jobs. Workers, whose living and working conditions were even worse than those of the England of Marx's time, began a wave of spontaneous strikes.

When Nicholas II, only 26, took the throne on Alexander III's death in 1894, it was hoped that the young monarch would grant the people a voice in the government and that he would reform the intolerable working conditions. Nicholas soon ended any such dreams.

In the city of Tver, the *zemstvo*, or popularly elected local council, sent the tsar the usual salutation. In it the council dared to make a veiled allusion to the need for a constitution. Nicholas warned them they were "carried away by senseless dreams . . ." and declared, "Let everyone know that I, who am dedicating all My strength to the welfare of the people, will preserve the principle of autocracy as strongly and undeviatingly as did My lamented late Father."

When violent strikes broke out in the city of Yaroslav, an army regiment shot down the strikers. The tsar sent a telegram of congratulations to these "brave" troops. With this, the last hopes of the young intellectuals for reform from above died. The strikes also heralded the appearance of the new social force—the workers, or proletariat—that Marx had described. Many of Russia's intelligentsia, convinced at last that progress could not be achieved by working with the villagers and that the monarchy would never reform itself, turned enthusiastically to Marx, whose predictions seemed more and more to have a ring of truth.

The new wave of revolutionary sentiment found a Russian spokesman in Georgi V. Plekhanov, a brilliant young engineering student who had abandoned his career to become a revolutionist. In 1883 in Geneva, Switzerland, he founded the first Russian Marxist organization, the League for Emancipation of Labor. He began publishing Marxist pamphlets, which were shipped to Russia, where young Vladimir, among others, devoured them.

The Bolshevik Party Emerges

Vladimir arrived in St. Petersburg in 1893 and immediately began playing a leading role in its Marxist circle. Something about him—his bright, penetrating glance, the ability of his mind to cut straight to the heart of an issue—made everyone give him a respectful ear. At twenty-three he was getting bald, and he seemed older than his years in his laugh, voice, and manner. His associates called him *starik*—the old man—half in affection, half in awe.

Vladimir made no attempt to conceal his contempt for what some of them were doing to advance the revolution. For, influenced by Populist theories, there were those who felt that education of the

A MURDER TRIAL AND A NOVEL

Feodor Dostoevsky based his book *The Possessed* on a murder organized by Nechaiev. The revolutionist told some Moscow students that he was a leader of a major revolutionary group. He persuaded them that a fellow student, Ivanov, was a police spy and had to be killed. The truth was, Ivanov had merely rejected Nechaiev's wild theories. In 1869 the students killed Ivanov and threw his body in a pond near the Moscow Agricultural Academy. The crime led to the arrest of hundreds of Nechaiev's followers. Nechaiev fled the country, but the trial of his student accomplices was a sensation all over Russia. Dostoevsky used the murder in his book to show how attempts at social change can be warped by people's willingness to employ evil means. "A new form of social organization is essential. . . ." says one of its characters. "[But] I am perplexed by my own data. . . . Starting from unlimited freedom, I arrive at unlimited despotism."

THE PERSONALITY OF A REVOLUTIONIST

This fragment from Turgenev eloquently describes the harsh prospects of a revolutionist's life.

To you who desire to cross this threshold, do you know what awaits you?

I know, replied the girl.

Cold, hunger, abhorrence, derision, contempt, abuse, prison, disease, and death!

I know, I am ready, I shall endure all blows.

Not from enemies alone, but also from relatives, from friends.

Yes, even from them . . .

Are you ready even to commit a crime?

I am ready for crime, too.

Do you know that you may be disillusioned in that which you believe, that you may discover that you were mistaken, that you ruined your young life in vain?

I know that, too.

Enter!

The girl crossed the threshold, and a heavy curtain fell behind her.

Fool! said some one, gnashing his teeth.

Saint! some one uttered in reply.

workers was the first step toward emancipation and that a vital educational task was teaching illiterate workers to read. Nadezhda Krupskaya, who later became Vladimir's wife, lifelong companion, and closest aide, was working for the Committee for Literacy. She first met Vladimir at a pre-Lenten pancake party, where he gave a laconic laugh when someone praised the importance of her committee. "Well," he said, sarcastically, "if anyone wants to save the fatherland in the Committee for Literacy, we won't stop him."

Vladimir was just as scornful of the attitude, basic in Marx's writings and general among the Marxists, that a revolution was inevitable and thus nobody had to do anything to bring it about. Vladimir kept pounding away at the idea that only a strong, tightly organized, secret party made up of professional revolutionists could hope to overthrow the government. Action was needed. Moreover, he lashed out at those who thought the workers themselves would become revolutionary leaders once they learned about the class struggle. Not the workers but the professional revolutionists, he argued, would make the revolution. While it was necessary to keep the revolutionary party small and secret, its members should propagandize as much as possible among the workers to convince them, too, of the necessity for revolution.

Marx's writings were available in Russia. The tsar's censors had found his *Das Kapital* so dull and technical that they had allowed it to be translated into Russian, thinking nobody would read it. They also began to allow Plekhanov and others to publish boringly academic articles on economics. The censors thought that such solemn stuff was harmless compared to the terrorism preached by the old People's Will assassins. Vladimir welcomed this but was angered at the way some of the Marxists watered down their writings to pass the censors. For that reason he became active in printing illegal leaflets for distribution among the workers. He was about to bring forth an underground newspaper, *The Workers' Cause*, when in December 1895 the tsar's police—who had been shadowing Vladimir for months—arrested him.

Vladimir served fourteen months in jail. He was allowed all the books he wanted and he sent coded messages to Krupskaya and to other Marxists.

While in prison, he became recognized as the real leader of a local Marxist organization, the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor, and he wrote many of its pamphlets in his cell, using various pen names. The signature *N. Lenin* eventually became his hallmark, and he was to be known only by this name. He was so active in prison that he was rather sorry when the police ordered him off to exile in Siberia for three years.

Lighting "The Spark." The exile life was not bad at all. Lenin had plenty of hunting and fishing. Soon Krupskaya, who had also been

banished, was allowed to join him and they were married in Siberia. He began working out a plan for an official Marxist newspaper to be published outside of Russia to direct Marxist political action inside Russia. At the same time, he began developing his ideas for a secret, tightly knit party of professional revolutionists. In 1900, shortly after he was allowed to leave Siberia, Lenin was off to Switzerland and Germany to confer with Plekhanov, win his blessing, and launch the new Marxist party newspaper, *Iskra* ("The Spark").

"If we have a strongly organized party," Lenin wrote for *Iskra's* first issue, "a single strike may grow into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the regime. If we have a strongly organized party, a rebellion in a single locality may spread into a victorious revolution."

From an editorial office in Munich, Germany, *Iskra* shipped instructions to hundreds of Marxist cells throughout Russia. And though the revolutionists were only beginning to organize their political party, the doctrines formulated in *Iskra* were to serve as the future battle program for party members everywhere.

A Bible for Communists. Two years later, Lenin published a book pulling together all his earlier thoughts on how to organize the kind of party that could create a revolution, overturn the government, and seize power. He gave it the same title as Chernishevsky's book that had so impressed him in his youth: *Chto Delat?* ("What Is to Be Done?"). This book became a bible for all his followers.

Although it was not generally realized at the time, Lenin in this book had presented—hard and clear as a diamond—the basic issue that would eventually split the whole Marxist movement. According to Lenin, uninstructed workers could progress in their political development only to the point of organizing trade unions. Their spontaneous reaction to oppression would be insufficient to carry them any further on the path to revolution. And the trade unions that they might form would be no match for the capitalists. Therefore, he concluded, professional Marxists would have to fight the tendency of workers to limit their activities to trade unions, for unless workers were diverted from such organizations, they would be headed for "ideological enslavement" by the capitalists.

When the Russian revolution came, Lenin's position would be of crucial importance. The crucial issue would be: *Would Marxism emulate the democratic procedures of the great legal labor parties and trade unions of the West, or prepare for armed uprising under the leadership of a self-chosen, rigidly controlled secret conspiracy?*

We can see the question in even simpler terms: *Democracy, or dictatorship?*

Lenin never lost sight of this issue. It was the one great central theme he hammered at again and again. In 1903 it dominated the Second Party Congress of what was then the major Russian Marxist



**ROYAL COUSINS
IN YEARS OF PEACE**

Two royal cousins who led widely differing lives were King George V of Britain (right) and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia. In 1918, just a few years after this picture was taken, the Tsar was executed by the Bolsheviks, and the Romanov dynasty came to an end. George V died in his bed in 1936, and his granddaughter reigns today as Elizabeth II.

movement, the Social Democratic Labor party. This meeting met at Brussels, then moved to London because of police interference. During the congress, Lenin fought for a highly centralized party with tight discipline imposed from above—in short, an out-and-out dictatorship.

Lenin won, but only by a narrow, and temporary, majority. For many years after, his followers were known as the Bolsheviks, from the Russian word *bolshinstvo*, or majority. They did not long remain the majority faction of the Social Democrats, but they continued to call themselves Bolsheviks.

The Revolution of 1905

Lenin had preached that the people, by themselves, were incapable of making the kind of revolution he wanted. But in 1905 the Russian people did revolt—without his help.

Lenin had also preached that workers were incapable of determining political events in a scientific manner. But when the workers took up arms in 1905, they created their own “governments” and shook the foundations of the throne. Lenin at first took no part in this process. Living in Switzerland, he was just a spectator, trying to catch up with events.

The revolts of 1905 were set off by Russia’s humiliating defeat in the war with Japan into which the tsar blundered in 1904. He lost most of his navy, and the Japanese took Port Arthur, a great Russian base on the south Manchurian coast. The disaster revealed the incredible ineptitude of the tsar’s government and encouraged vigorous protests by the people.

Bloody Sunday. On a Sunday in January 1905, a large group of workers in St. Petersburg made a peaceful march on the Winter Palace, carrying placards demanding an improvement in working con-

SUNK IN A SURPRISE ATTACK by the Japanese navy, two Tsarist warships rest in the harbor of Port Arthur, then a Russian base in Manchuria. This sneak attack

in February 1904 launched the Russo-Japanese War, which brought disaster to Russian arms, misery to the Russian people and helped bring on the revolt of 1905.



ditions and a constituent assembly. Thousands of these unarmed men were accompanied by their wives and children.

When the people tried to present their pleas, the troops were ordered to block their way and to keep them out of the Winter Palace square. The soldiers opened fire on the helpless people. Hundreds were killed. Thousands of wounded were left behind on the bloody square as the crowd fled. This horrible day would live in Russian history as "Bloody Sunday." It destroyed the people's last shred of faith in the tsar. A wave of protest strikes broke out all over Russia.

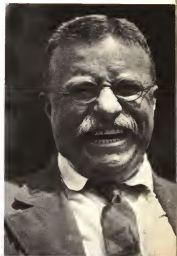
Meanwhile, the old People's Will had been transformed into a new political group, the Socialist Revolutionary party, which was busily forming secret cells among the peasants. Less than a month after Bloody Sunday, one of its terrorist bands assassinated the tsar's uncle, Grand Duke Sergei, Governor General of Moscow. In August, the tsar agreed to call a representative assembly. But this *Duma*, as it was called, would be given only "advisory" powers. This made the people all the angrier. More strikes broke out.

The First Soviet. Now something strange and new arose on the Russian scene, something that startled Lenin almost as much as it shocked the tsar. It was a Soviet (council) of Workers' Deputies formed by Lenin's enemies, the Mensheviks. Menshevik comes from the Russian word *meshinstvo*, or minority. This was the group opposed to Lenin's ideas of tightly disciplined, autocratic party control, and they urged the St. Petersburg workers to elect a kind of "proletarian parliament" in order to give representative political control to the general strike.

On October 26, forty delegates representing 20,000 workers met in the Technological Institute and elected three leaders—among them a fiery young Menshevik called Leon Trotsky—and called for a general strike. Overnight the Soviet generated tremendous popular enthusiasm all over Russia, for this was the first time that the people controlled an institution wielding political power.

The Soviet got quick results through the strikes. On October 30, 1905, the tsar issued the October Manifesto, granting freedom of speech, conscience, and assembly, and he increased the number of those eligible to vote in the elections for the Duma. But these concessions were not enough to satisfy the people. Sporadic protest strikes continued for some time.

Lenin, who had finally left Switzerland, reached St. Petersburg in November. He had opposed the Soviet because it was a spontaneous, undisciplined body, which his "professional" revolutionists could not control. Discovering that the Soviet had become virtually a second government, he quickly shifted his tactics and began to support it. Indeed, he demanded that it expand to become the nucleus of a provisional government for all Russia. From the outset Lenin had urged that the strikes be transformed from a workers' demonstra-



**A U.S. PRESIDENT
NEGOTIATES PEACE**

In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt helped extricate Russia from its disastrous war with Japan. Suspecting that both sides wanted to end the clash, he offered to act as intermediary if each would send a representative. Each did and Roosevelt brought them together on the presidential yacht *Mayflower* at Oyster Bay, Long Island. Then Roosevelt sent them on to the naval base at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where they concluded the Treaty of Portsmouth on September 5, 1905. For his efforts, Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.

tion into an armed uprising. He had earlier told his Bolshevik wing of the Social Democrats:

Go to the youth. Organize at once and everywhere fighting brigades among students, and particularly among workers. Let them arm themselves immediately with whatever weapons they can obtain—rifles, revolvers, bombs, knives, brass knuckles, clubs, rags soaked in kerosene to start fires with, rope or rope ladders, shovels for building barricades, dynamite cartridges, barbed wire, tacks against cavalry. Let the squads begin to train for immediate operations. Some can undertake to assassinate a spy or blow up a police station, others can attack a bank to expropriate funds for an insurrection. Let every squad learn, if only by beating up police.

The Soviet, led by Trotsky, called for the overthrow of the government, but popular fervor had begun to subside. On December 16, the entire Executive Committee of the Soviet was arrested.

The Collapse of the Revolt. From St. Petersburg, Lenin turned his hopes to Moscow, where the strike did turn into armed revolt. Fighting brigades of workers threw up barricades across important avenues. Lenin drew on his studies of past revolts and sent out leaflets containing tactical instructions: fight in groups of three and four, attack suddenly, disappear fast.

To quell the Moscow revolt, the tsar sent crack guards' regiments and artillery from St. Petersburg. The workers fought desperately, but on December 31 the Revolution of 1905 ended. Just as quickly as he had granted "freedom," the tsar revoked most of the people's



Lenin: From Middle-Class



A YOUNG LAWYER, Lenin at 22 had recently passed his law examinations.

WITH ALL HIS FAMILY, Lenin (*lower right*) sat for this formal photograph in 1879, at age nine. His ill-fated, bookish brother Sasha, 13, is at top center.

new rights. The collapse of the revolts brought strong opposition to Lenin into the open even among the Bolsheviks themselves. He was accused of deliberately sacrificing lives to prove his theory.

Lenin in Exile Again. Lenin's influence dwindled, both among the Russian people and in the Social Democratic party itself, as a pro-tsarist reaction set in throughout Russia after the 1905 revolt. In the long years from 1907 until 1917—years Lenin spent entirely abroad, living a lonely life in Geneva, Paris, and Zurich—it often seemed that all his dreams were in vain. He chafed in idleness.

A Futile Forum. In Russia the tsar had recovered his confidence. However, he was disappointed when the first Duma produced a reformist majority. When it met in May 1906, the largest bloc of votes, 179 seats representing nearly 40 percent of the chamber, belonged to the Constitutional Democratic party, called the Cadets. Their sober program calling for a constitutional monarchy, land redistribution to the peasants, and an eight-hour day gave promise of real and needed reforms. But the minister of the interior, Peter Stolypin, who favored land reform to strengthen peasant loyalty to the tsar, was nonetheless a determined opponent of the Duma. Soon promoted to prime minister, he dissolved the legislature.

A new Duma was elected in 1907. Despite every sort of pressure by Stolypin, the voters once more chose representatives who favored reforms. After three months, the Duma was again dissolved. A third

Schoolboy to Veteran Rebel



HIS FUTURE WIFE, Krupskaya, seen as a girl, was two years Lenin's senior.

EN ROUTE TO EXILE in 1897, the bald, 26-year-old Lenin and a group of radical friends stared hard at the camera just before being sent to Siberia.



Duma, convened in November 1907, was to last for a full five-year term. But this time the vote had been carefully rigged, and Stolypin at last had a majority. However, it really made little difference to the throne whether or not it had the support of the Duma. Absolutism still held sway. The fourth and last Duma was elected in 1912 and was in existence when rebellion broke out in 1917.

The End of the Tsars

A TSAR'S UNCONCERN AMID UPHEAVAL

Nicholas II always seemed indifferent to the violent currents that moved about him. During the hectic year of 1905, the 37-year-old Tsar wrote in his journal: "Pretty doings! . . . Was quietly busy until dinner and all evening. Went paddling in a canoe. . . . Got dressed and rode a bicycle to the bathing beach and bathed enjoyably in the sea. . . . The weather was wonderful."

Russia's entrance into World War I in 1914 was followed by a series of humiliating defeats and devastation. In 1917, as in 1905, the misery of wartime life touched off the Revolution. But this Revolution overthrew the tsars. Once more, the long-awaited event caught Lenin by surprise. As late as January 22, 1917, he expressed doubts that he would live to see another revolution. Again, Lenin had nothing to do with it—at first.

In part, the Revolution was touched off by the millions of losses the ill-equipped Russian army suffered in World War I. The dead were never even counted accurately. "In the great war ledger," the German commander Von Hindenburg wrote afterward, "the page on which Russian losses were written has been torn out. No one knows the figures. Five or eight millions? We, too, have no idea. . . ."

"Give Us Food or Stop the War." On the home front, things were not much better. Because of the demands of the mobilization, the transportation system failed. Trains broke down, food supplies fell off to a trickle, and long lines of people formed in every Russian town—only to find no food. People began to cry: "Either give us food or stop the war."

But the tsar paid little attention, for he spent most of his time away from the capital at the army's general headquarters. The country was actually being governed by the Empress Alexandra and a succession of half-mad or totally incompetent ministers. The tsarina appointed and fired them depending on the whim of a semiliterate, vile-smelling, self-proclaimed "holy man" named Rasputin, who held a hypnotic influence over her.

The Tsar's Final Duma. On February 27, 1917, the tsar called another session of his almost powerless fourth Duma in Petrograd, as the capital was now called (St. Petersburg sounded too German). At the opening, a leader of a socialist peasant party spoke. He was Alexander Kerensky of Simbirsk, whose father had given the young Lenin a gold medal on graduation from school. "The tsar himself must be removed," cried Kerensky, "by force if there is no other way. . . ."

On March 3, 1917, workers in a branch of the Putilov Steel Works—at that time one of the largest in the world—went on strike to protest the dismissal of some employees. When their demands were

refused, workers in other branches joined them. The owners answered by locking out all 30,000 workers. These men went off to other factories asking for support. Five days later, thousands of women in Petrograd's textile factories stopped work for "Women's Day."

"Stop the disorder in the capital at once," wired the tsar to his Petrograd commander. The tsar might as well have tried to sweep back the ocean.

"Dissolve the Duma!" wired the tsar; but the Duma continued to meet. No one listened. No one cared. Suddenly, everything came apart. All remaining traces of discipline disappeared. The troops refused to shoot at the people. Soldiers shot their own officers and joined the civilians. On March 12, workers began assembling to hold some kind of election. Remembering the Soviet of 1905, they were choosing another such council—the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. It moved into one section of the Tauride Palace. The Duma had ignored the tsar's order to dissolve and was holding an emergency meeting in another wing.

That evening, in the course of a tumultuous meeting of the Soviet, a group of soldiers asked for the floor. One by one they named their regiments, pledging their participation in the Revolution. With a tremendous burst of enthusiasm, the assembled delegates united soldiers and workers in one Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and elected an Executive Committee, heavily Menshevik in composition but including a few Bolsheviks, none in top positions. The chairman of the Soviet was the leader of the Social Democrats, and Kerensky was one of the vice-chairmen.

On March 14, a committee of twelve chosen by the Duma appointed a Provisional Government with a liberal noble, Prince Georgi Lvov, as its chairman. Kerensky, as minister of justice, was the only socialist member.

The Tsar Steps Down. On March 15, the tsar abdicated in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael, who on the following day refused to accept the supreme power. Russia was without a tsar, and two rival groups were seeking to fill the governmental vacuum. The Provisional Government had little real authority, for the other government—the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—could block any action to which it objected. Under the Soviet's pressure, the Provisional Government issued its first decree, which called for release of all political, religious, and military prisoners; free speech and press; the right of workers to unionize and to strike; an end to discrimination based on social, religious, or national origin; and honest elections for a constituent assembly, with a vote for everyone.

Note well the demand for a constituent assembly. It had been the chief demand of the revolts of 1905. It was the slogan that, more than any other, ran through every great revolutionary upsurge in Russia. It was the universal cry of every party—right, left, or center.

A TSARINA'S TROUBLED ARROGANCE

Just before Tsar Nicholas was forced to step down, in March 1917, the Empress sent this note to him at his army headquarters in the field: "Things are rotten. I don't know where I can reach you but I firmly believe, and nothing can shake my belief, that everything will be all right. . . . It is clear that they are trying to prevent you from seeing me before they make you sign some paper, a constitution or some other horrid thing, I suppose. . . . It is the greatest meanness and vileness, unheard of in history, to detain someone's Emperor."

The story of the life and death of this idea is the central tragedy of the Russian Revolution.

The second government, or Petrograd Soviet, consisted of 2,500 workers and soldiers chosen without any formalities by the factory workers and members of army units. The largest political group in it was the Socialist Revolutionaries, direct descendants of the old People's Will. Next largest was the Menshevik faction of the Social Democratic party, the moderates who always opposed Lenin's hard, ruthless line. Third came the Bolsheviks, who formed a small minority. Similar Soviets sprang up in Moscow and all over Russia.

Lenin's Return to Petrograd. At this moment, the Germans, figuring correctly that Lenin's influence would help to knock Russia out of the war, permitted his passage from Switzerland across Germany in a sealed train. On April 16 as dusk fell, a great crowd of workers, soldiers, and sailors waited outside the Finland Station in Petrograd. Many carried red banners. The headlight of the locomotive lit up the rails, and a bell clanged as the cars, brilliantly lighted, came into the station. Lenin, wearing his familiar worker's cap, stepped out. For the first time in ten years, he was on Russian soil.

"Comrade Lenin," cried the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, "we welcome you to Russia in the name of the Petrograd Soviet and the Revolution. . . . The chief task of the revolutionary democracy at present is to defend our revolution against every kind of attack both from within and without. . . ."

But Lenin had other ideas. As soon as he was alone with his own Bolshevik leaders, he began bitterly attacking them for even conditionally supporting the Provisional Government in his absence. He cried: "No support for the Provisional Government!"

In his absence, not only had the Bolsheviks been supporting the Provisional Government but one of the editors of the Bolshevik paper *Pravda*, a man named Joseph Djugashvili but already known as Stalin, had even favored a complete political union of the Bolsheviks with the left wing of the Mensheviks. "As members of one party our small differences will fade away."

Not so, said Lenin. He insisted the Bolsheviks must regard the whole non-Bolshevik majority in the Soviet as their enemy.

Lenin Seizes Power. While other political groups decided that the war effort should take priority, Lenin argued for an end to the war and action on social issues. From the moment of his arrival, he turned all his energies toward seizing the powers vested in the Provisional Government. In his famous "April Theses," Lenin appealed to soldiers all over Europe to end the war by starting civil wars in their own countries. He demanded immediate distribution of the land to the peasants. He pounded home the powerful slogan of "Peace, land, and bread!" He spurned all talk of uniting with the Mensheviks. Soon many of the workers' delegates to the Soviet

were supporting Lenin. He also gained strength among the troops.

In May, the Provisional Government was reorganized, this time with six socialists in the cabinet, including Kerensky as minister of war and marine. He was, in fact, its actual leader.

Kerensky began a July offensive against the Germans, but as a result of its failure and staggering losses an uprising began back in Petrograd, the "July Days" crisis. Angry workers and sailors began converging on the Tauride Palace, where the government sat. Lenin had not directly instigated this and hesitated to urge the mobs to overthrow the government. But while he hesitated, the tide broke. The Provisional Government ordered Lenin's arrest on charges of incitement to armed insurrection with financial aid from the Germans. Again Lenin went into hiding, shaving off his mustache and beard, and sleeping in haystacks until he reached safety in Finland.

The Trend to the Bolsheviks. Soon, however, everything began to go Lenin's way. In August, Kerensky (who by then was prime minister) called a national political conference in Moscow, with representatives of the main political and economic groups of the nation. The conservatives all supported General Lavr Kornilov, Kerensky's military commander in chief. Only the socialists stuck by Kerensky. Expecting a coup by the general, Kerensky dismissed Kornilov from his command. Kornilov refused to leave his post and ordered troops to move against the government. All the left-wing groups of the Soviet temporarily joined Kerensky in preparing to fight Kornilov. Railroad workers refused to move Kornilov's troops, and the troops began going over to the socialists. Kornilov was arrested.

Kerensky apparently had won. But actually, his power was gone. With the alliance among the Provisional Government, the conservative forces, and the army leadership broken, Kerensky was at the mercy of the Petrograd-Soviet. The Soviet, for its part, was leaning more and more toward Lenin's militant Bolsheviks, for it had become apparent that Kerensky was unable to control the forces around him. Kerensky's only hope, then, was to hold out until the national elections—called for November 25—could choose the long-awaited constituent assembly. But Lenin had no intention of giving Kerensky time. Lenin secretly returned from exile and called an all-night meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee to plan Kerensky's overthrow. This group, after ten stormy hours and much violent opposition, approved Lenin's plans. Trotsky, who had only recently left the Mensheviks to join Lenin, vividly recalled the scene: "Hastily, with a stub of a pencil, on a sheet of graph paper torn from a child's exercise book, [Lenin] wrote: 'The Party calls for the organization of an armed insurrection.'"

Trotsky had become president of the Petrograd Soviet, in which the Bolsheviks were now in the majority. He was put in charge of organizing the military side of the insurrection. His Military Revo-



**A TEMPORARY PREMIER
REVIEWS HIS TROOPS**

Alexander Kerensky (*above at right*), who had been the Provisional Government's minister of war, became prime minister as well soon after the "July Days" crisis. When the Bolsheviks overthrew his government in November, Kerensky escaped to western Europe. He has lived in the United States since 1940.

lutionary Committee, which included some left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries as well as Bolsheviks, sent a *commissar* to every army unit in Petrograd, telling the troops to obey only the Revolutionary Committee's orders.

Before dawn on November 7, armed detachments of Red Guards occupied the central telegraph office, the post office, and a large number of other government buildings. Other armed squads surrounded the Winter Palace and the military district headquarters. Showing cool courage, Kerensky went to headquarters and then left in an open automobile, driving right through the soldiers, who snapped to attention from habit and let him pass. He tried and failed to get the support of any troops. He was unable even to return to Petrograd. Meanwhile, an all-Russian Congress of Soviets had begun to meet in the Smolny Institute, where Lenin had his headquarters.

"The Revolution . . . Has Come to Pass." At the meeting of the Congress of Soviets in the Smolny Institute, Lenin was wearing his wig and his face was half hidden by a dirty handkerchief. He removed his handkerchief to speak. His companion whispered to him, "Take off your wig."

He did so, then moved onto the rostrum, hands in pockets, head bowed. Welcomed with thunderous applause, he spoke:

"Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution whose need the Bolsheviks have emphasized many times has come to pass."

Years of Violence, Capped by Revolution

The Revolution of 1917 had been centuries in the making. But it was not until the early part of the 20th Century that the Tsar's long-repressed subjects moved to overthrow the monarchy. On Sunday, January 22, 1905, two hundred thousand workers, wives and children marched toward the Tsar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) with peaceful intent. They wanted to present a petition asking for a constituent assembly and better working conditions. The order was given to bar the people from the palace square, and horsemen like the Cossack shown on the opposite page slashed at the crowd to turn it away. Panicky troops opened fire, killed 500 and left thousands wounded in the snow. This "Bloody Sunday" led to the 1905 revolt and ultimately to the violence of 1917. Paintings on the pages that follow show some high points of this epoch.





Lawless Acts of Retribution

Here carousing peasants loot valuables of a landowner whose mansion they have set afire. In this way the impoverished and oppressed peasants took vengeance on



their wealthy masters. The practice was called "letting loose the red rooster" because of the fiery look of flames against the night sky. Sporadic outbursts of this kind

had been known in Russia for centuries, but the autumn of 1905 saw a great increase in burnings; at least 2,000 landowners' homes were razed in that wild year.

Terrorist Raids for Funds and Murders for Revenge



ROBBERY of a post office shipment in Tiflis, Georgia (*above*), in 1907 was planned by a 27-year-old revolutionist. This daring venture enriched the Bolshevik coffers by over \$30,000. The young mastermind would later become world-renowned under the name of Joseph Stalin.

ASSASSINATION in Kiev (*right*) in 1911 of Prime Minister Peter Stolypin was a terrorist act. The Tsar's ablest premier, Stolypin was hated both by royalists and revolutionists. He was ruthless toward terrorism, but nobles resented his efforts at badly needed land reforms.





Royalty's Grim Autumn

REGALLY ALOOF, a Russian noblewoman (*opposite*) is helped from her carriage as she attends an evening at the ballet. Right through the autumn of 1916, the upper class in Russia kept up a pretense of normal life despite the fact that the ravages of the war meant bread lines for the poor people and workers of the hungry land.

VIOLENT ACTION against the "monk" Rasputin is taken in late December 1916 by Prince Yusupov, seen at far right. Appalled by the unhealthy influence wielded by Rasputin on the Empress, this high noble is about to shoot him. Rasputin's death, however, came too late to improve the way that affairs of state were conducted.



The End of the War for the People of Russia



LENIN'S HOME-COMING is welcomed by soldiers and workers (*above*) at Petrograd's Finland Station on April 16, 1917. He had been in Switzerland and France for 10 years. The Germans, hoping that he would help take Russia out of the war, were glad to send Lenin back.

FRATERNIZATION between German and Russian soldiers (*opposite*) reflects the dissolving discipline of the weary front-line troops. From March 1917 until the armistice in December of that year, Russian Marxists often distributed propaganda leaflets to German troops.





The Taking of the Winter Palace

The capture of Petrograd's Winter Palace on the night of November 7, 1917, was as important and symbolic to the Bolshevik Revolution as the storming of the Bastille



was to the French. The palace was the Provisional Government's last stronghold, and the regime's remaining officials were barricaded within it. Soldiers led by Bol-

sheviks gathered in the palace square, where the Bloody Sunday massacre occurred over 12 years before, infiltrated the palace from several points and then seized it.



The Last of the Tsars

After being held captive for 16 months, Tsar Nicholas II, with his wife, children and several servants, was finally executed by the Bolsheviks on the night of July 16, 1918. The Tsar had abdicated in March of the previous year.

THE CHAPTER IN REVIEW

Understanding What You Have Read:

1. Explain how Lenin "turned Marx upside down" by pointing out differences between the beliefs of Karl Marx and the actions of Lenin. What effect did the work of Lenin have upon the influence of Marxist theories on history?
2. Describe the conditions in Russia in the 19th and early 20th centuries which sparked the development of revolutionary ideas and movements. Why did the important voices for reform come, not from the oppressed lower classes, but from the middle and upper classes? What steps did these early reformers take in protesting against the evils they saw? What was the reaction of the government to their protests?
3. Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) was raised in a comfortable, middle-class environment—that of an educated family, devout, loyal to the tsar, hostile to revolutionary ideas. Summarize the experiences of Lenin's youth which caused him to reject this early background and conditioning to become a radical leader.
4. Identify and contrast the following radical groups: (a) The People's Will; (b) The League for Emancipation of Labor; (c) Social Democratic party; (d) Bolsheviks; (e) Mensheviks; (f) Socialist Revolutionary party.
5. What were some of the causes of the uprising of 1905? Describe the major events of that uprising. What part did Lenin play in it? How was the revolt suppressed?
6. Why did Lenin's influence dwindle after the defeat of the uprising in 1905? How did he spend the years between the revolutions of 1905 and 1917? What important events took place in Russia during this time?
7. Describe the conditions in Russia which brought about the Revolution of 1917. Summarize the events leading up to the establishment of the

Provisional Government in March 1917. What part did Lenin play in these momentous events?

8. Describe the new Provisional Government. What reforms did it call for? Which of these was of the greatest importance? Describe the structure and membership of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. What was the Soviet's relationship to the Provisional Government?
9. How was Lenin able to return to Russia in April 1917? Why did the Germans take this action? What was Lenin's attitude toward the Provisional Government? Describe the steps taken by Lenin to secure adoption of his ideas. What was the reaction of Alexander Kerensky and the Provisional Government to Lenin's activities?
10. Summarize the events from August to November 1917 that led to the downfall of the Kerensky Provisional Government. What was the fate of the members of the overthrown Provisional Government?

Questions for Discussion:

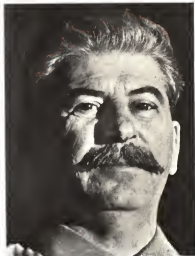
1. How would you explain the difference between a "Marxist" and a "Marxist-Leninist"? In your opinion, to which of these would a member of the American Communist party belong? Why? Would a member of the non-Communist Socialist party in America be a "Marxist" or a "Marxist-Leninist" or neither? Why?
2. Regardless of your reaction to the beliefs and actions of Lenin, do you believe that he was a sincere, dedicated man? Why? Do you believe that every Communist is as fanatical in his opinions as was Lenin? Can you give examples from recent history to support your answer? If you do so agree, what lessons must we of the free world learn from the actions of a Lenin?
3. Imagine yourself as a middle-class Russian student in 1917. Would

you have become involved in one of the many groups agitating for reform? If so, which one would you have joined? For what reasons? What would your position have been in the clash between Kerensky's Provisional Government and the Bolsheviks? What is the basis for your choice?

4. Discuss how the history of Russia might have been changed if the Kerensky Provisional Government had been able to remain in power. How might the history of the world have been affected? Our history?
5. Do you think there would have been a revolution in Russia even if World War I had not brought about the Revolution of 1917? Do you believe that the situation would have eventually improved through peaceful evolutionary means?

Activities:

1. Prepare a written biography of one of the following Russian reformers: (a) Peter Tkachev; (b) Alexander Kerensky; (c) Georgi V. Plekhanov; (d) Nadezhda Krupskaya.
2. Imagine that you are an American newspaper reporter assigned to cover the events taking place in Russia in 1917. Write a series of brief articles describing these developments as an eyewitness. See the Bibliography for additional readings.
3. Prepare a time chart of three columns for the period 1848 to 1917. In column one, list the major events taking place in Russia. (See the chronology at the back of the book.) In column two, list the major events taking place elsewhere in Europe at the same time. In column three, do the same for the United States.
4. Make a bulletin-board display of drawings, pictures, and cartoons of the important individuals you have studied in Chapters 1 and 2.
5. Prepare an oral report on the life of Rasputin and the influence he had on the life of the Empress.



JOSEPH STALIN

3 The Result:

Hardening of the Communist Dictatorship

The two decades between the Bolshevik Revolution and the outbreak of World War II constitute an era of enormous violence and enormous change.

This era saw communism's newly won power shakily survive three years of battering by civil war and economic upheaval. In the collapse of Communist revolutions in Germany and Hungary, it saw the death of Lenin's hopes for world revolution in his own lifetime. It saw the turning, by his successors, to the building of "socialism in one country"—an effort that, at tremendous cost of blood and agony, lifted backward Russia into the first ranks of industrial and military power.

The Communists Remake Russia. With the Bolsheviks ruling Russia after 1917, Lenin had to make up his mind what he would do with the power he now possessed. He had never thought this question through adequately. The seizure of power and the ruthless destruction of the old order had been his lifelong obsessions. "Its political task," he had said, "will be clarified after the seizure."

Lenin was Marx's disciple, yet he had already departed from the master's teachings by trying to achieve communism without going through the capitalist period Marx had predicted. But Lenin could justify this by his "discovery" of a new phase of capitalism—he called it *imperialism*—that Marx had not foreseen. In essence, Lenin saw imperialism as capitalism's ability to ward off its "inevitable" decay and disintegration by aggressive expansion into undeveloped colonies. This made "imperialistic wars" a certainty and also made it possible for Communists to use the war to take over power in Russia, the weakest link in the imperialist chain. Thus, Lenin justified immediate exclusive power for Bolsheviks rather than going through a "capitalist" phase in collaboration with other Marxist parties.

"Only the dictatorship of the proletariat," he asserted, "is able to establish democracy for the *poor*." He failed to see what Trotsky had warned of long ago in fighting Lenin's theory of party organization—that it would end with the party bureaucracy taking the place of the party itself, the Central Committee taking the place of the bureaucracy, and "finally the dictator [taking] the place of the Central Committee." This is precisely what did happen.

The Road to Dictatorship

"Peace, land, and bread"—this was the slogan that brought Lenin to power. On the day after the Bolshevik success, Lenin strode before the Congress of Soviets, meeting in the Smolny Institute, with decrees to make the slogan real.

► *Peace*. He called on all the warring powers to arrange an immediate armistice, for not less than three months, in order to negotiate a final peace "without annexation or indemnities." ^{payment}

► *Land*. He proclaimed that the "landlord's right of property in land is abolished immediately without any payment" and ordered hundreds of thousands of acres of land "turned over" to the peasantry, which had already in fact seized much of it. He also nationalized all natural resources, including oil, coal, and other minerals.

► *Bread*. Lenin had none to give. He could only announce the formation of a new government that would promise to provide bread. This would be the first "Soviet Government."

Naming the New Government. Earlier, in talking with Trotsky, Lenin had insisted that the new government officials be called "anything but ministers . . . a vile, hackneyed word." Trotsky had an idea. "We might call them commissars [commissioners]," he said. "But there are too many commissars. Perhaps supreme commissars? No, supreme does not sound well. . . . What about People's Commissars?"

"Well, that might do . . ." said Lenin. "And the government?"
"A Soviet [council], of course—the Soviet of People's Commissars."
"Splendid," said Lenin. "It savors powerfully of revolution!"

THE END OF THE PRESS

David Shub, who was personally acquainted with Lenin, tells this incident in his *Lenin: A Biography*:

"On November 10, 1917, the Soviet Government published a decree curtailing . . . the press, with the assurance that the repressive measures were only temporary. . . . [The official explanation was that] 'the simple return of printing offices and paper to capitalists, poisoners of the people's conscience, would be an unpardonable . . . counterrevolutionary measure.'

"But it was just as important for Lenin to gag Socialist opinion. From the first days . . . he insisted on shutting down the Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik papers. . . . At [a] Congress of the Soviets, to the outcries of the Socialists, '*Our papers have been closed*,' Lenin replied: 'Of course, unfortunately not all of them! Soon all of them will be closed. . . .'

"The freedom of speech and press for which generations of Russian revolutionists had fought since the days of the Decembrists [1825] was completely destroyed within a matter of months."

It stayed destroyed.

And so it became. And so it remained until 1946, when Joseph Stalin changed the name to Council of Ministers and the "vile, hackneyed word" was restored. The state itself was called the "Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic."

The Soviet of People's Commissars included:

- ▶ Chairman, N. Lenin.
- ▶ Foreign Commissar, Leon Trotsky.
- ▶ Nationalities Commissar, Joseph Stalin.

The first job of Lenin's ruthless band of Communists was to eliminate those who disagreed with them, as the revered pioneer Marxist Georgi Plekhanov soon discovered. Three days after the Bolshevik seizure of power, Plekhanov wrote an "Open Letter to the Petrograd Workers" warning them that the proletariat was not yet ready and that if they tried to govern now they would bring on civil war.

On November 13, Red guards invaded Plekhanov's house. His friends had to whisk him away in an ambulance to safety.

What of the constituent assembly for which so many Russians had yearned and died over the decades? Lenin had often accused Kerensky of postponing the election of deputies. Now he faced the prospect of elections scheduled for November 25—a date set by Kerensky.

Russia's Only Free Election. Against his instincts, Lenin allowed the election to be held. The Bolsheviks lost decisively. Nearly 42 million Russians went to the polls; some 16 million, or 38 percent, cast their votes for the Socialist Revolutionary party. Another 2 million voted for the leading nonsocialist party, the Constitutional Democrats, known as the Cadets. Fewer than 10 million, or 24 percent, voted for Bolshevik candidates. In the only free election Russia has ever had, for every Bolshevik who won, three opponents were elected.

Communism had its chance to win power legally, legitimately, at the polls. It lost. It never took that chance again.

Lenin immediately outlawed the Constitutional Democrats. He also postponed indefinitely the December 11 convocation of the assembly that Kerensky had scheduled when he called the election. But the elected deputies began drifting into Petrograd anyway, and they insisted on convening the assembly despite Bolshevik opposition. On the afternoon of January 18, 1918, the long-sought constituent assembly finally met at the Tauride Palace.

To intimidate the assembly, Lenin had summoned Red sailors from nearby Kronstadt to swarm outside the building. The cruiser *Aurora* and the battleship *Republic* were brought up along the banks of the Neva River. Lenin ordered a detachment of sharpshooters from Latvia brought to Petrograd. "We cannot depend on the Russian peasant," he said. "He is likely to join the other side."

The oldest deputy present, a veteran of the old People's Will, called the meeting to order. Bedlam broke out at once, for Bolshevik



HARANGUING THE PEOPLE in 1918, Lenin addresses the first May Day celebration under his new regime. At this period, the Bolsheviks were still consolidating their

gains following the Revolution. And as Lenin told a companion while watching the crowd: "The most important thing is not to lose constant contact with the masses."

deputies, soldiers, and sailors began to raise a racket in the hall. The Bolshevik deputies sought to vote "all power to the Soviets," which they now controlled, and then to disband the assembly on the ground that it was no longer needed. The other deputies, however, insisted on acting like an elected congress.

Whistles, Howls, Jeers. The Bolsheviks made a farce of the proceedings. Every speech was interrupted by Bolshevik whistles, howls, and jeers. Lenin lolled about on the steps to the platform, then curled up on a bench and pretended to sleep. Around midnight the Bolshevik deputies walked out. The rightist Socialist Revolutionaries and a handful of Mensheviks stayed on, passing resolutions to create a federated republic and voting to give the land to the peasants and to end the war. They passed a host of measures as revolutionary as any the Bolsheviks had decreed. But they would not accept a Communist dictatorship that had no legal sanction.

Victor Chernov, the elected chairman of the assembly, was still



THE MAN BEHIND THE TERROR

Felix Dzerzhinsky was the first chief of the Cheka, Lenin's secret police. A personally unselfish bleak ascetic with a friendly smile, he was utterly merciless to political opponents.

Lenin at a meeting once scribbled a note to Dzerzhinsky asking how many prisoners the Cheka had in jail. "About 1,500," the chief replied. Lenin read it, muttered something, jotted an "X" beside the figure and returned the note. This signified that he had noted the figure, but Dzerzhinsky mistook the meaning. Silently he got up, left the room and had all 1,500 shot that night.

trying to speak in the early dawn when Bolshevik soldiers and sailors tried to force the delegates out of the hall. They had been in session for over twelve hours. Next day, guards blocked the doors and would not admit deputies. Illegal though it was, the Bolshevik dictatorship was now complete. The only right by which this dictatorship acted was the right of naked force. And Lenin commanded that force.

Lenin Turns to Terror

With dictatorship, Lenin also openly established the instrument most dictators require: Terror. He believed terror was needed to bring order out of chaos and protect the revolution from its enemies.

Lenin had already set up an official agency to direct the terror, the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Speculation. This long name was shortened to *Cheka*, from the Russian initials for its first two words.

The Cheka's Victims. Felix Dzerzhinsky, the sinister commissar of the Cheka, sent his squads on after-midnight prowls of apartment houses, rounding up anyone even suspected of being an enemy of bolshevism. Endless numbers of captives were hustled to the old police station not far from the Winter Palace, stood against the wall, and shot. The sounds were muffled by the roar of truck motors kept going for that purpose.

Early in 1918, fearing that the Germans might reach Petrograd, the Soviet government moved its headquarters to Moscow and took over the ancient fortress called the Kremlin. The Cheka installed itself in an old stone building on Lubianka Street. That soon became—as it remains—the most fearsome address in all Russia. Its dark and spacious cellars were ideal for secret executions in the dead of night.

The Tsar Executed. Among the early victims of the terror were Tsar Nicholas II and his family, who since his abdication had been held under guard in Ekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk). At midnight on July 16, 1918, the royal family was awakened, told to dress and go down to the cellar. Not only the tsar was executed; his wife, son, four daughters, doctor, cook, chambermaid, and waiter were also shot. To make sure that no possible loyal tsarists could ever find a trace of the remains, the bodies were hacked to pieces, burned, and then scattered in a swamp and covered with dirt and leaves.

The pace of the terror rose to a frenzy after Lenin himself was wounded. This happened on August 30, 1918, when he spoke at a labor rally in Moscow. As he left the hall, a woman named Fanya Kaplan came up beside his car and asked him a question. About to enter the car, Lenin turned to answer. She produced a pistol and fired three shots point-blank. She shot him, she said, because she believed Lenin was "a traitor" to the revolution. Though badly wounded, he insisted on being driven to the Kremlin and on walking up the stairs.

Lenin soon recovered, but in reprisal 500 "bourgeois" hostages were killed in Petrograd. When people complained about the shooting of innocent persons, Lenin seemed to be surprised. The important thing, he said, was to put teeth into the dictatorship: "Outside of force and violence, there is no way to suppress the exploiters of the masses."

Civil War and Intervention

Lenin's promise of peace and of an end to Russia's participation in World War I was part of the slogan with which he seized power. Accordingly, his government signed a humiliating and costly peace treaty with Germany at Brest Litovsk, in western Russia, on March 3, 1918. The Bolsheviks agreed to give up a great deal of territory, including the Russian "breadbasket," the Ukraine.

A party congress, the seventh, was quickly convened later in March to ratify the treaty. The delegates did so. They also officially adopted a new name for the party: "All-Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party." Since then the "(Bolshevik)" has been dropped, and, in any case, in common usage it is simply "the Communist party."

Despite the treaty, Russia was not yet to know peace. A civil war now began, which bled the country for three years. In May 1918, the anti-Bolshevik Cossacks from the Don region were campaigning against Red troops. Also in May, the Czechoslovakian Corps began fighting the Bolsheviks. This corps had been recruited partly from anti-German prisoners of war, partly from former members of Czech colonies in Russia who longed to see their homeland free of Austro-Hungarian rule. Oddly, the collapse of the Russian army after Brest Litovsk left the Czech Corps the most powerful organized force inside the country. Some 40,000 members of the corps were seeking to leave Russia to join the Allies on the western front. They were headed for Vladivostok, the Far Eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and were strung out along 3,000 miles of the railroad, all the way from the Volga River to Irkutsk in Siberia.

By mid-May some 15,000 had reached Vladivostok, when some of the corps farther west got into a fight with the Bolsheviks in the Ural Mountains. Soon fighting broke out between the Czechs and the Bolsheviks all along the railroad. This fighting encouraged anti-Bolshevik Russians all over central Russia to rise up in arms. Some were fighting for a constitutional monarchy, some for independent republics, some for socialism; some were just fighting. All the troops making up the military opposition to the Bolsheviks were loosely referred to as the "White Army" forces.

The United States in Vladivostok. More than 800,000 tons of war supplies were stored in the port of Vladivostok. Some 800,000 German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war were also in the area,

A GIGANTIC LIFESAVING MISSION

Soviet leaders never cease accusing the U.S. of having tried to overthrow the Communists during the Russian civil war. Every such accusation pointedly ignores some \$70 million of American relief which Herbert Hoover, as head of the American Relief Administration, distributed in Soviet Russia during the famines of 1921 and 1922 caused by severe drought and the economic distress left from the civil war.

Former President Hoover has told about a 1924 banquet in the Kremlin at which Communism's leaders credited the American relief with saving 20 million lives. They presented Hoover with a scroll that thanked the U.S. "in the name of the millions . . . saved. . . . The people . . . will never forget the aid rendered to them by the American people, holding it to be a pledge of the future friendship of the two nations." The people did not forget, but the Soviet leaders did.

Peace with Recent Enemies, War against Former Friends



COSTLY PEACE for the new Communist state is sought by Trotsky (*center*), seen arriving to negotiate with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk in early 1918. The treaty's terms were so humiliating that Trotsky would have no part of it.



CIVIL WAR that followed peace was complicated by conflict with the Czech Corps, seen advancing on a Bolshevik-held town.

and the Allies feared they might be released and try to seize the valuable stores. In July, President Woodrow Wilson decided to send United States troops to safeguard the matériel and the railroad long enough to evacuate all the Czech Corps. He had no intention whatever of intervening in Russia's civil war. Allied troops were also landed at Archangel and Murmansk in the far northwest to protect Allied supplies there against possible seizure.

However, British and French forces did get into some active fighting with the Red troops. Britain sent troops and arms to bolster a White Russian government set up by Admiral Alexander Kolchak in Omsk, Siberia. In southern Russia, other British forces landed in the Caucasus, and the French made a naval landing on the Black Sea. American troops themselves had only one brief and accidental skirmish with Bolshevik forces. In 1920, the Poles, unhappy with the Curzon Line, which the Allied Supreme War Council had proposed as the eastern frontier of the newly reestablished Polish state, sent troops into the Ukraine. Eventually the Red army, under Mikhail Tukhachevsky, drove the Poles out.

The Phase of War Communism

The Communists emerged from the civil war shaky but still in power. They ruled a starving land. Part of the cause was their attempt to impose communism in the midst of war. This three-year pe-



Best-armed unit in Russia, the corps' fight to escape via Vladivostok encouraged the White forces in their war with the Reds.

WRECKED LOCOMOTIVES, derailed by the Bolsheviks along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, block the Czechs trying to reach the Pacific. In this confused struggle, 40,000 Czechs were strung along some 3,000 miles of track.

riod of "war communism" (1918-1921) brought such disaster that the Communists came very close to being overthrown by unorganized, dissident Russians.

By turning industry over to the control of the workers, the Communists had plunged production into total confusion. The workers spent most of their time settling scores with old bosses, or scrounging what they could to feed their families amid the prevailing chaos. Everything went to pieces. Factory production virtually ceased. Industrial production by 1920 fell to only 13 percent of its prewar level. The Communists nationalized all industry and attempted to restore some order by setting up a one-man—rather than workers'-committee—management system for factories.

The government had tried to obtain food supplies for the cities from the farms. At the same time, it attempted to extend the "class war" to the rural areas by creating so-called "committees of the poor" in the villages. These committees were ordered to seize the grain of wealthier peasants, or *kulaks*, and ship it to the cities. The poorer peasants responded by killing many *kulaks* and seizing their grain. Many kept the grain for themselves, while the cities starved.

Lenin thereupon sent out "food detachments" of city workers on a crusade for bread. These workers did succeed in seizing enough grain to feed the cities. But the peasants, forced to deliver grain at the point of machine guns, simply stopped working. By 1921, farm production had fallen to about half the 1913 level. Everywhere peasant

uprisings broke out, directed primarily against the food detachments. They had one simple slogan: "Down with the Communists!"

A Workers' Strike Against Communism. In February 1921, the workers of Petrograd began throwing down their tools and going on strike. Now something even more ominous happened. The revolutionary sailors of the Kronstadt naval base, who had been so helpful to the Bolsheviks in 1917, turned against the Communists to support the striking factory workers.

On February 28, 1921, the crew of the battleship *Petropavlovsk* met to vote for a series of demands. These demands boiled down to one simple word: *Freedom*. They called for freedom of speech and the press, freedom for peasants to do what they pleased with the land, and the liberation of all political prisoners. And "in view of the fact that the existing Soviets do not express the will of the workers and peasants," they demanded secret elections to reorganize the Soviets. The next day, 12,000 angrily shouting sailors and members of the garrison jammed a mass meeting in the main square of Kronstadt. They endorsed the resolutions and chose a provisional revolutionary committee.

In Moscow, the Communist government was flabbergasted. How could the "unguided" people stage a revolution of their own, in violation of all of Lenin's theories, and against the Communists at that? The government ordered the revolutionary committee to disband. The committee refused. Confident that the justice of its demands would soon spread revolt all over the country, the committee also refused to fight, except in self-defense.

A Retreat from Communism. Perhaps there would have been a widespread rebellion if the Communist Tenth Party Congress, which began meeting on March 8, 1921, had not taken quick action to placate both workers and peasants. Under Lenin's guidance it voted some measures to retreat partially from communism and to restore some aspects of capitalist-style free trade. This sudden about-face came to be known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). 21-28

But allowing some individual enterprise to exist did not mean surrendering Communist power or permitting the rebels of Kronstadt to escape reprisals. War Commissar Trotsky sent the Red army under Tukhachevsky to storm the fortress of Kronstadt. Some regiments of Red soldiers were reluctant to fire on fellow Russians, and many of the soldiers had to be driven at gun point to attack the rebels. After Kronstadt fell on March 17, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the rebels—Communist and non-Communist alike—were executed in merciless retribution for daring to question the justice of the Communist dictatorship. Lenin was even willing to kill Communists to keep the power he thought essential to transform the old social order and to improve the country's backward economy.

The End of Toleration. One reason Lenin had turned his back



**AMERICAN SOLDIERS
IN RUSSIA'S NORTH**

Three members of America's "Polar Bear" regiment based in Archangel, in Russia's far north, are shown above. After Lenin took Russia out of World War I in 1918, President Wilson sent American soldiers to protect huge Allied stores of arms from possible seizure and use against the Czech Corps. But Wilson limited the troops' activities to this mission and he made it clear that there was to be no meddling in Russia's internal affairs.

on the Mensheviks was that they contended Marx's analysis called for capitalism to precede socialism. Now that disaster had come, Lenin seemed to be moving in the direction of the Menshevik position with his economic reforms. One might think this would logically lead to inviting the Mensheviks in to help run the program. Not so. That would mean sharing power. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who had been tolerated during the civil war, were now imprisoned, shot, or exiled.

The Fight for Power Inside the Party

It was not long before the party's leaders began fighting each other for power. The rivalries and disputes of the party leaders were kept within peaceful bounds as long as Lenin could decide them. He was the unquestioned leader whose word was revered. All stood in awe of him. Moreover, Lenin did not exact revenge from his colleagues when they disagreed with him. He held no petty grudges, and he made them abandon their own. He believed they could work together selflessly for the party—so long as he was the supreme leader who directed everything.

In 1922, however, when Lenin suffered a stroke, the rivalries among his lieutenants began to come into the open. He made a partial recovery, but he never really fully regained his health. The most important question for his lieutenants now became, as the Russians say, *kto-kovo?* ("who does what to whom?").

Who Would Succeed Lenin? At that time, Stalin still seemed most unlikely to emerge on top. He had been ever-present but inconspicuous in the party—a sort of "gray blur," as he was once described. Stalin was always on hand, always brave and dependable, but never a leading orator or Marxist theoretician. He was more the silent listener and the quiet doer in the party, while the dynamic giants—Lenin, Trotsky, Kamenev—captured the public eye.

Throughout the civil war, all these men—including Stalin—had shared power with Lenin as members of the all-powerful Political Bureau, or *Politburo*, of the party. Stalin was the Politburo's liaison with the highly important Organization Bureau, or *Orgburo*, which handled party personnel. Later, as general secretary of the party, Stalin had closer day-to-day touch with all its affairs than other Politburo members had. But the crucial importance of the general secretary's job was not completely evident as long as Lenin overshadowed everything and everybody.

After Lenin became ill, Stalin's job clearly became more important. He supplied the agenda for each session of the Politburo. He transmitted its decisions to the lower bureaus. He was in daily contact with the thousands of party workers in the capital and provinces. He was responsible for their appointments, promotions, and



**EFFICIENT RELIEF
FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE**

An American Relief Administration truck stands near a supply center in Russia. The ARA brought in over 700,000 tons of relief goods during Communism's most crucial period and helped millions of Russians, some of whom are shown below at an American health and food center in Petrograd.



demotions. His years of devoted fulfillment of thankless party tasks were finally giving him a path to power.

Stalin's Boyhood and Early Life. Stalin's connection with the Bolsheviks went back a long time. He had become a disciple of Lenin as early as 1904.

Stalin, born Joseph Djugashvili, was the son of a shoemaker, who himself had been born a slave under serfdom. As a boy, in the province of Georgia, Stalin was a star pupil of his local school and the acknowledged leader of all his classmates for his agility and daring. At 14, Stalin entered the Tiflis Theological Seminary on a scholarship. His extraordinary memory—he learned his lessons almost without effort—encouraged the monks who taught him to think he might become an outstanding priest of the Russian Orthodox Church. But during his five years at the seminary he became interested in the nationalist movement and joined a secret socialist society.

Expelled in his fifth year at the seminary, Stalin soon began working in the socialist underground. He was helping to write and distribute illegal leaflets when he was arrested in 1902. Deported to Siberia in 1903, he escaped, and a few months later joined the Bolsheviks in time to take part in the revolts of 1905.

In 1912, Lenin put Stalin on the Bolsheviks' Central Committee and also made him one of four members of the bureau that ran the Bolshevik party's affairs inside Russia during Lenin's long exile. He began to use the somewhat theatrical pseudonym of Stalin, meaning "made of steel." In 1913, he was betrayed by a tsarist secret police agent who was on the Bolshevik party Central Committee and whom Lenin trusted. Friends tried to spirit Stalin to safety dressed as a woman, but the police caught him again and exiled him to Siberia for four years.

This time he got out only when the revolution in March 1917 effected an amnesty for many political prisoners. He reached Petrograd and was editing *Pravda* when Lenin came home from abroad.

Stalin's Rivals. Easily the most outstanding of Lenin's lieutenants on the mighty Politburo was Lev Davidovich Bronstein, known as Leon Trotsky ever since he forged a jailer's name to his passport. He attracted Lenin's notice as a contributor to *Iskra* as early as 1902. Before that he had been living in Siberia, where he had been exiled as an underground revolutionist. He became known to socialists as the leader of the St. Petersburg Soviet in the violent strikes of 1905, when Stalin was still an unknown. True, he had voted against Lenin's Bolshevik "majority" in 1903 and opposed that dictatorial faction of the Social Democrats for 14 years thereafter. But he had come over to the Bolsheviks in the summer of 1917 and had led the October uprising. He had created the powerful Red army out of an undisciplined mob and led it to victory in the civil war. His name was known the world over.

LENIN: A MAN WITHOUT VANITY

"No dictator in history was less vain," David Shub wrote of Lenin. "On his 50th birthday he refused to listen to the eulogizing speeches. . . .

"The fulsome praise constantly heaped on him by the Soviet newspapers disturbed him even more. . . . 'I consider this completely un-Marxist emphasis on an individual extremely harmful,' he told a deputy."

Lenin's friend, author Maxim Gorky, said: "He could with equal enthusiasm play chess, study . . . the *History of Dress*, debate . . . with his comrades, fish, walk along the stony paths . . . admire the golden colors of the furze bush and the dirty children of the fishermen. . . . He enjoyed fun, and when he laughed, his whole body shook. . . ."

But Lenin could reduce ideas to merciless formulas: "Whoever is not with us is against us. . . . Everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order. . . . We do not believe in external principles of morality."

There were other important Communists who formed the party's inner circle. Lev Kamenev, Trotsky's brother-in-law and the man who helped recruit Stalin as a Bolshevik, had taken Stalin's place as editor of *Pravda*. He later became boss of the Moscow Soviet. Grigori Zinoviev, leader of the Petrograd Soviet, had served with Lenin (as had Kamenev) on the editorial board of the *Social Democrat*, a leading Marxist journal, in 1909. Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin's closest comrades before 1917, had opposed the October Revolution, but Lenin forgave them.

Finally came two younger men: Mikhail Tomskey, the leader of the trade unions, and Nikolai Bukharin, a brilliant economic theorist.

Like Trotsky, both Kamenev and Zinoviev were better known than Stalin. Together with Trotsky, they could have ousted Stalin from the Politburo and sent him into obscurity. Instead, they joined with Stalin to block Trotsky, whom they feared most because his military exploits made him a possible Napoleon.

A Conspiracy Against Trotsky. As Lenin lay dying in 1923, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin formed a conspiracy against Trotsky.

What provoked the showdown with Trotsky in 1923 was a sudden outbreak of strikes and Trotsky's open letter criticizing "the bureaucratic degeneration of the party leadership." Russia had been recovering under the New Economic Policy and its restricted "capitalism," but heavy industry was still crippled. Hundreds of thousands of workers were unemployed. Low wages and hunger drove the proletariat to despair.

Even Communists began demanding more freedom of discussion, more democratic procedures in the party. Trotsky led the cry. He demanded the removal from party positions of "those who at the first voice of criticism, of objection, of protest, are inclined to demand one's party ticket for the purpose of repression."

Zinoviev proposed that Trotsky should be arrested. But Stalin would not agree to this suggestion. He called a national conference—made up almost entirely of his own appointed local officials—to meet in January 1924 to consider this controversy.

During a meeting at the end of December, Stalin lashed out—not at Trotsky directly—but at extreme "democrats" of the opposition. He reminded them of Lenin's rule banning "factions"—opposition groupings—inside the party. Did they want Lenin's rule abolished? Having endorsed the rule originally, Trotsky could not now change his position. He was driven to the defensive.

Stalin ended the January conference with a great democratic show. He proclaimed a "Leninist call-up" of 200,000 workers "from the [factory] bench" to join the Communist party and considerably enlarge the "proletarian spirit." Then he revealed a previously unpublicized rule of Lenin's that authorized the Central Committee to *expel its own members* for creating "factions." He asked to have it reaffirmed.

STALIN: RULED BY VANITY

Stalin "was a man dominated . . . by an insatiable vanity and love of power, coupled with the keenest sort of sense of his own inferiority and a . . . jealousy for qualities in others which he did not possess. He had . . . an inordinate touchiness, an endless vindictiveness, an inability ever to forget an insult or a slight, but great patience and power of dissimulation in selecting and preparing the moment to settle the score. . . . At the same time . . . he was a man with the most extraordinary talent for political tactics and intrigue, a consummate actor, a dissimulator of genius, a master not only of timing but of . . . the art of 'dosage'—of doing things gradually. . . a master, in particular, of the art of playing people and forces off against each other, for his own benefit. . . ."

"This was a man of incredible criminality . . . a man in whose entourage no one was ever safe; a man whose hand was set against all that could not be useful to him at the moment."

—GEORGE F. KENNAN
*Russia and the West
under Lenin and Stalin*

The conference thundered its approval of all of Stalin's proposals. He had hardly mentioned Trotsky. But he had cut the ground entirely out from under him.

Lenin's Startling Will. Three days later, Lenin died. Trotsky, who was ill and had gone off for a rest, failed to come to the funeral. He claimed later that Stalin wired him the wrong date. But Stalin was there, from start to finish. He stood in the guard of honor at Lenin's coffin and helped carry it into the improvised crypt that became Lenin's tomb. And it was Stalin who addressed the memorial meeting next day.

Four months later, Lenin's widow forwarded to the Central Committee Lenin's so-called "testament." It included the startling request that Stalin be removed from his post of general secretary.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated enormous power in his hand, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. . . . Stalin is excessively rude, and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us Communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the position of the General Secretary. Because of this, I propose

From Scholarly Piety to Godless Power

AS A CONVICT sentenced to exile for his political activities, a youthful Joseph Stalin is shown in profile and front view



AS A RELIGIOUS SCHOLAR, young Stalin (top center) is pictured with fellow students and instructors of the church school in Gori, his home town. In 1894 he went to a theological seminary on a scholarship but was expelled in 1899.



Воспитанник 69 30-32 м.
Рост 1 м 80 см
Взрослый
Длина волос: 10 см
Цвет волос: темный
Цвет глаз: темный
Цвет кожи: бледная
Знаки отличия: нет
Примечания: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

A COMMUNIST'S LITANY

In his funeral oration for Lenin, Stalin used terms that smacked of his years at theological school. The speech sounds like a litany:

"Comrades, we Communists . . . have been cut out of peculiar stuff. . . . There is no loftier title. . . .

"In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordained us to hold high and keep pure the . . . title of member of the party. We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we shall honorably fulfill this thy commandment. . . .

"In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordained us to guard the unity of our party. . . . We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we shall fulfill honorably this thy commandment, too. . . .

"In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordained us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin, that . . . we shall honorably fulfill this thy commandment, too. . . .

"In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordained us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of workers and peasants. We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we shall fulfill honorably this thy commandment."

lasting success as an isolated phenomenon in one country alone. Therefore, he reasoned, the Communists had to work for a world revolution. Stalin, however, was convinced that "socialism in one country" was feasible and that it was important first to secure Communism at home before attempting worldwide revolt. Stalin began to sway the Politburo to his view.

Within a year of Lenin's death, Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev forced Trotsky to resign as war commissar. In 1926, Stalin forced him off the Politburo and later into exile, first in the U.S.S.R. and Europe, and finally in Mexico. There, in 1940, hunted down by a Stalinist agent, Trotsky was bludgeoned to death with a pickax.

After dealing with Trotsky, Stalin then turned his full attention to getting rid of Kamenev and Zinoviev. He resurrected Trotsky's charge against them—that they had opposed the Bolshevik Revolution—and saw that it was well aired. He attacked them as "left-wingers" for their attitude toward the New Economic Policy. In the end he joined with the "right-wingers"—Tomsky, Rykov, and Bukharin—to expel them first from the Politburo, then from the party.

When Stalin had got rid of the "left-wingers," he put trusted men of his own on the Politburo, then got rid of Tomsky and Bukharin.

The "Good" Years of NEP

During the seven years from 1921 to 1928—the period of the New Economic Policy—the Soviet Union knew peace and increasing prosperity. Allowed to trade freely, the peasants planted and harvested so effectively that food production quickly came back up to prewar levels. Small businesses were allowed to flourish in private hands, and foreign capitalists were even brought in to run state "trusts." It was a limited kind of capitalism, watched over by Communist overseers who, for the most part, kept hands off.

The system had its critics. Before his expulsion, Trotsky, for one, thought that the trend toward capitalism was a betrayal of Lenin's hopes for quick industrialization. Trotsky drew up a Five-Year Plan to show how a shift could be made from NEP to a forced-draft buildup of heavy industry. Stalin mockingly denounced this scheme as "superindustrialization."

With Trotsky, Kamenev, and Zinoviev gone, Stalin felt free to change course and set up a Five-Year Plan of his own for industrialization. It began in 1928 as a tremendous program to convert the backward Soviet Union into a major industrial power in a decade, and to turn the land farmed by peasants under private ownership into collective farms that would be "great factories of grain." The reason for the farm program was twofold: (1) to provide food for the industrial workers in the cities; (2) to provide exports that would bring in capital to help finance the buildup of industrial power.

What the Five-Year Plan really became was a new war—against the Russian people. It would kill millions upon millions of them. Even those who sympathized with Stalin's desire to lift the Soviet Union by its bootstraps in this tremendous program could never understand why he deliberately decided to make his methods so bloody and violent.

A Man-made Famine. The peasants, particularly the relatively well-to-do *kulaks*, resisted the orders to merge their holdings into collectives, whereupon Stalin applied force against them.

The local Communist party leaders were ordered to "apply all necessary measures in the struggle against the *kulaks*, including total confiscation of their property and their banishment [to Siberia]." To make sure they did their job well, 25,000 trusted party workers were sent into the countryside to "help out." They may have even gone further than Stalin intended in their zeal to show how ruthless they could be. Poor peasants as well as *kulaks* were arrested out of hand and packed off to exile. Within nine months, thirteen million peasant households had been forced, willy-nilly, into collectives—which meant in many cases the victims had simply been robbed of their property and herded together at gun point by the party brigades. The result was a total disintegration of the peasant economy and the onset of a man-made famine. Over five million people are believed to have starved to death. Another five million peasants were herded into exile or simply exterminated.

The peasants fought back with guns and pitchforks. Whole regions rose up and began guerrilla warfare. The Red army surrounded villages and attacked them with tanks, artillery, and bombers, or laid them waste by burning them. "Districts were stripped of their stocks of grain and seed, then cordoned off to die of famine and plague," writes historian Bertram D. Wolfe in a graphic account. "Lands, tools, animals were confiscated. . . . The entire independent peasantry . . . was destroyed or ensnared under the monstrous slogan of 'the liquidation of the *kulaks* as a class.'"

Forced Labor in the Factories. In the parallel campaign to industrialize the U.S.S.R., the workers suffered almost as severely as the peasants. Wolfe describes what it involved: "The highest sales tax in human history, forced loans . . . export of needed foodstuffs to buy machines and technicians; change of diet from meat, milk, fats to bread, and even that scarce and rationed . . . decreeing of imprisonment and the death penalty for stealing state property, for 'wrecking' and other industrial crimes."

As the shortages of all important foods grew more acute, rationing got tighter and tighter. The privilege of eating in the commissaries and restaurants operated by factories and shops became increasingly important. Since discharge from a job meant loss of this privilege, the implicit threat undoubtedly had a strong influence in



**CREATOR OF THE
RED ARMY**

War commissar Leon Trotsky is shown in 1924. He had created the Red Army and led it to victory. Considered a leading possibility to succeed Lenin, Trotsky lost to Stalin, who later had him assassinated.



MARCHING TO THE FIELDS, Soviet peasants smile for this propaganda picture. But brutally enforced farm collectivization from 1929 on was anything but pleasant.

Peasants fought with guns and pitchforks, slaughtered cows and horses, and left the land untilled rather than submit. For this, five million were annihilated or exiled.

forcing men to work harder and harder. Forced labor was introduced, and squads of police roamed the cities rounding up men for national construction projects. All over Russia, the suffering was so great that Stalin's own wife denounced it at a gathering of leading Communists. Later that night, in their suite in the Kremlin, she shot herself in despair.

Looking back over this terror, students of history have wondered how Stalin possibly could have waged this merciless war upon the whole Russian people without himself being destroyed in the process. One reason was that the Red army was generally pampered throughout it all. The troops were well fed, and new recruits were attracted by the prospects of swift promotions. Thus, the army remained loyal to Stalin.

Not so the Communist party. Mutterings against Stalin began to grow. The secret police uncovered so many small plots to remove or overthrow Stalin that he asked the Central Committee for authority summarily to execute Communists as well as ordinary Russians. The Committee refused to give him that authority.

In December 1934 a prominent Communist was killed, and this



COLLECTIVIZED WORKERS eat a drab meal at a state-owned factory. As part of the industrial speed-up of the first Five-Year Plan, labor had to work where the

party ordered. Determined to close the U.S.S.R.'s 50-to-100-year gap "behind the advanced countries," Stalin used the harshest regimentation to expand production.

event set off an endless and ever-spreading bloodbath. During the following years, Stalin killed more Communists than the tsars had ever even arrested. There was only one thing more dangerous than being a Communist in Communist Russia during those days. That was to be an *important* Communist.

Stalin's Great Purges

The Communist whose death set off the purges was Sergei Kirov, chief of the Communist party in Leningrad (formerly Petrograd). On the afternoon of December 1, 1934, he was shot to death in his office in the Smolny Institute. The assassin was Leonid V. Nikolaev, a young party member and former government worker who had been dismissed from the Leningrad party organization.

Why Was Kirov Killed? The events surrounding this murder are still a mystery. The Leningrad NKVD, as the secret police was then called, knew that Nikolaev was plotting to kill Kirov. They had stopped him and found a gun in his briefcase and a diary allegedly stating his intention. Yet they gave him back the gun—and re-

leased him! When Nikolaev came to Smolny on that fateful December 1, the NKVD guards were curiously absent, except for Kirov's own bodyguard, Borisov. And Borisov was killed in an automobile "accident" the next day. Presumably Borisov was killed because he knew too much.

There is much to suggest that Stalin himself may have arranged Kirov's murder. Kirov had been urging a "relaxation" of the party purges during which Stalin had expelled 700,000 members (out of 2.7 million) the year before. In any event, the death of the Leningrad chieftain was to be useful to Stalin. He rushed to Leningrad to lead the mourning.

That same night Stalin got the Central Executive Committee to issue an extraordinary decree that gave him at last the total powers he had sought. He now got the full authorization of the Politburo to execute any "terrorist" without the right of appeal. This literally gave him the power to execute almost anybody he chose. This he soon began to do.

The Show Trials. He struck first at Zinoviev and Kamenev, arresting them on December 16, 1934, with thirteen other "members of the former Zinoviev group." At first they were merely sent to prison, after Zinoviev obligingly took the "responsibility" for the murder of Kirov. In August 1936, Zinoviev and Kamenev were brought back for a second, and this time public, trial. With fourteen other defendants, they confessed to the most outrageous and murderous plotting, spying, and treason. The trial was a worldwide sensation and created controversy that has not yet died out. Could the confessions have been true? If not, why would men calmly make them in public without any indication of having been forced to fabricate the confessions? Stalin's successor, Premier Nikita Khrushchev, later revealed part of the reason: The prisoners had been tortured, and promises had been made to some to spare their families if they admitted to preposterous crimes. *Moreover, only those who confessed saw a courtroom—the others were simply shot.*

The real defendant was absent. It was the exiled Trotsky. Charges were made that Zinoviev and the others had sought to betray the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany. The true aim of the charges was to destroy Trotsky's reputation. To link the "plotters" with Trotsky, the prosecutor, Andrei Vyshinsky, introduced "facts" that have since, outside the U.S.S.R., been shown to be utterly false. For example: A supposed meeting with Trotsky took place in a Copenhagen hotel that had in fact been demolished years before; a foreign airplane supposedly arrived at a Norwegian field where the records showed that no such plane had landed at that time, and so on. Yet all the defendants were shot.

Within two days of the trial, *Pravda* was demanding that this group's "connections" with Bukharin, Tomsky, and other old friends

A HUMANE COLLECTIVIZER

The mystery of Stalin's incredible cruelty in collectivizing agriculture is only deepened by the following story. "His name was Betal Kalmykov . . ." recounted Maurice Hindus in *House without a Roof*. "He told me that during the collectivization campaign he had always assured the peasants, which Stalin's agents rarely did, that they would be allowed, in private ownership, their gardens and orchards, a cow and calf, a sow, six head of sheep, and all their fowl. . . . He gave [the kulaks] the choice of remaining in their homes with gardens and orchards of their own . . . or suffering confiscation of all their property and banishment in the North. Naturally they chose the lesser punishment.

"Betal Kalmykov was acclaimed as the most successful collectivizer in the country—the 'Peter the Great' of his region. He was idolized in the press, and a never-ending stream of journalists and authors . . . wrote glowing tributes to his person and his leadership.

"In 1938 Stalin executed him."

and disciples of Lenin be "investigated." Tomsy killed himself. Stalin announced that "charges would not be pressed" against Bukharin and Rykov—but they both were shot within two years.

Stalin's "Democratic" Constitution. In the middle of the purges, a new constitution for the Soviet Union was promulgated in 1936. (Ironically, Bukharin drafted much of it before Stalin had him shot.) This constitution caused many Soviet sympathizers in the United States and elsewhere to conclude that Stalin was really a "democrat" at heart. After all, on the surface the document guaranteed free speech, free press, free elections, freedom of religion, public trials by jury—nearly all of the treasured protections guaranteed to Americans by the Bill of Rights. The favorable stir created by its preachments helped cover up the fact that Stalin, in actual practice, was shooting one of the constitution's authors by dictatorial decree.

Stalin summoned the Seventeenth Party Congress to meet in 1934 as the "Congress of the Victors." The "victory" referred to the impressive strides in industrialization that the first of the Five-Year Plans had achieved. But this triumphant meeting was soon followed by a wave of purges of officials high and low, who were accused of the most shocking crimes, including espionage. Marshal Tukhachevsky, chief of staff of the Red army, and seven high officers were executed, supposedly because they were agents of Germany and Japan.

These revelations did not make democratic countries in the '30's rate the U.S.S.R. very high as a possible ally against the rising tide of Nazi aggression. They seemed to prove one of two things: either Stalin's regime was the most corrupt in all history because it had produced such an incredible number of traitors in high places; or else it was the most corrupt regime in all history because it had murdered such an incredible number of innocent and loyal servants.

The facts, so far as they are known, seem to bear out the second conclusion. In the war with Hitler, the Allies captured vast numbers of German secret records but nothing pertaining to Red army officers in German pay.

The Purge Widens. Once Stalin embarked on this campaign of slaughter, he was apparently compelled to make it ever bigger and wider. Each slain man had friends and relatives who loved and trusted him; each executed general had the loyalty of companion officers whom he had sponsored. After the chiefs were liquidated, the subordinates had to be slain; after the subordinates, *their* subordinates.

There was some method to all this madness. After Stalin had decided to industrialize and collectivize swiftly and forcibly, a repressive police apparatus became a necessity. But after men were set to spy on and betray one another, it was only a matter of time before the punishment of genuine laggards, or "wreckers," would veer over into the denunciation and arrest of mere bystanders. Moreover, by

A BIG LAUGH IN THE KREMLIN

The God That Failed is a report by a group of honorable and sensitive men who were briefly attracted to Communism, then turned away from the party in disgust and revulsion.

One of the authors, Italian writer Ignazio Silone, tells about a Kremlin meeting in which a British delegate asked what the British Communist party could do about a Trade Union Congress decree ordering its local groups not to support Communist-led factions. A Russian answered: Pretend to comply with their decree while secretly violating it. "But that would be a lie!" cried the Englishman. The other delegates broke into uproarious laughter. When Stalin was told the story, he too laughed at this naive man who thought decency and integrity had a place in the Communist movement.

repeatedly purging even the most loyal Stalinists, Stalin set his own henchmen trying to outdo one another in order to survive, and in this cruel way he brought new talent to the top.

The Party and the World Outside Russia

What had happened to communism's goal of world revolution? Lenin had never believed communism could long survive if its power were confined to Russia. When World War I ended in 1918, Lenin was sure that defeated Germany would be the next to succumb to revolution, fulfilling the Marxian prediction, and a long-held tenet of socialist faith, that highly industrialized Germany would be the first country to adopt a Marxist government. Indeed, revolution did break out in Germany amid the post-armistice chaos. Communist governments even triumphed briefly in Bavaria and also in Hungary. But both these regimes quickly fell.

In 1919 Lenin established the *Comintern* (short for Communist International) in Moscow to maintain liaison with Communist parties overseas and to direct them to follow Russia's lead. In 1922 a new name, the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," was adopted. It no longer included the word "Russian," so that any foreign country that might go Communist could join it. But it became clear that Lenin's lonely Communist outpost would get no help from kindred revolutions anywhere in Europe. The Comintern met in Moscow to work hopefully for world revolution, but Stalin was already organizing on the basis of "socialism in one country"—meaning that Russian communism had to build a firm foundation at home before it could expand abroad. He began placing more emphasis on developing trade with Western governments through normal diplomatic

REVOLT IN HUNGARY brings volunteer marchers into Budapest streets in 1919. But Communist Béla Kun was overthrown when he tried to keep huge manors intact as

state farms instead of dividing them among land-hungry peasants. Lenin's hopes for immediate world revolution died when Hungarian and German revolts failed.



channels rather than attempting to overthrow those governments through their own local Communist groups.

In the United States, the tiny United States Communist party was attractive chiefly to the so-called "Wobblies," members of the old anarchistic Industrial Workers of the World, whose traditions of bomb-throwing and other violence resembled the Bolsheviks' own. "Big Bill" Haywood, leader of the Wobblies, fled to the Soviet Union to avoid imprisonment for sedition, and when he died he was buried next to one of the walls of the Kremlin.

Communism in Asia. It was not in the highly industrial West but rather in feudal Asia that Russian communism made its first major impact. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of China's own national revolution, which deposed the monarchy, had sent a congratulatory telegram to Lenin in 1917 on his seizure of power. For their part, the Russians issued a manifesto to the Chinese people solemnly renouncing former tsarist claims to Chinese territories and property. Hundreds of Chinese students arrived in Moscow to study, among them in 1923 Chiang Kai-shek, Sun's military adviser. At Sun's request, the Russians sent political and military advisers to China. A Chinese Communist party was founded in 1921 by twelve men, including a twenty-seven-year-old teacher named Mao Tse-tung.

The Soviet Union pursued a policy of collaboration with Nationalist Chinese forces. Chinese Communists were ordered to cooperate with Sun's Nationalist movement, the Kuomintang, or People's Party, and—after his death in 1925—with Generalissimo Chiang, who became the Kuomintang strong man. But in 1927 Chiang broke with the Chinese Communists and smashed them in show-down street battles in Shanghai. Mao then formed a Communist army that continued to fight Chiang's forces, except for an uneasy

IN GERMANY. Communists in Berlin engage in vicious street fighting in an abortive attempt to gain control of the city during January 1919. In Munich, Communists

actually succeeded in establishing a Soviet state but the new government was soon overthrown. Its leaders were executed by regular troops of the German army.





**TWO GENERATIONS
OF CHINESE LEADERS**

The George Washington of modern China, Sun Yat-sen (*seated above*), is shown with his disciple and successor, the then youthful Chiang Kai-shek. Dr. Sun had high hopes for the Russian Revolution and sent a congratulatory cable when Lenin seized power. Chiang, Sun's heir apparent, was sent to Moscow for military and political training. But in 1927, after Dr. Sun's death, Chiang turned on the Communists and thereafter fought them.

truce period when both armies fought the Japanese during World War II.

Secret Collaboration with Germany. In 1922, during an international economic conference at Genoa, Germany and the U.S.S.R. were treated like stepchildren by the other powers. The Soviet and German ministers responded by going off to nearby Rapallo and signing a treaty for trade and cooperation. As a consequence, Soviet-German relations, which had been improving, became even closer. While some German officers were already being secretly trained by the Red army, their numbers were to be increased. War materials, which Germany was forbidden to make under the Versailles peace treaty, were now made in the Soviet Union by the Germans. From Germany the Soviets got technical advisers and industrial plants.

Stalin Underestimates Hitler. Despite all his foreign activities, Stalin kept his main attention throughout the early 1930's on building "socialism in one country." In fact, when Hitler first threatened to take power in Germany in 1932, Stalin badly underestimated the nature of the threat. The Communist party by then was a strong political force in Germany and—if it had collaborated with the Marxist but non-Communist Social Democrats—it could have kept Hitler out of power. But Stalin, emulating Lenin's 1917 refusal to collaborate with Mensheviks or Socialist Revolutionaries, ordered the German party to stay out of coalitions. He thought Nazism would create a chaotic situation in Germany and thus foster ideal conditions for a Communist revolution. As a result of his decision, the Communists actually helped Hitler to succeed.

Hitler immediately set about killing and imprisoning Communists, until they were destroyed as an effective force in Germany. Only after Hitler began to rearm Germany and proclaim his intention to destroy bolshevism did Stalin come to realize that Nazism was his greatest single enemy. Then the order went out to the world's Communist parties to form "popular fronts" with all anti-Nazi and antifascist forces for the purpose of "defeating Fascist aggression." A typical "popular front" group that sprang up in the United States at that time was called "The American League Against War and Fascism." Organized and run mostly by secret Communists, it nevertheless succeeded in enlisting wide support for such causes as boycotting German-made goods.

Communists and the United States Labor Movement. In 1933, when America accorded diplomatic recognition to the U.S.S.R., the Soviets were able to set up ambassadorial and consular offices to help direct other Communist fronts inside the United States.

This period, when America was struggling to come out of the Great Depression, which had struck in 1929, made some Americans give credence to Marx's theory that capitalism was doomed. Thousands of banks had failed, and millions of people had lost their savings.

Farmers were being driven to the wall. More than twelve million men were unemployed by 1933. Aided by all this misery, Communist agitators could occasionally get a sympathetic hearing.

A new phenomenon, the "sit-down strike," arose that, since it suggested seizure of private property, smacked of revolution. In Akron, Ohio, in 1936, rubber workers simply sat down inside the factories and refused to work or to leave until their demands were met. Detroit's auto workers soon did the same; even Woolworth clerks sat down in New York. These people were fighting for—and soon got—the right to form unions that would negotiate with their employers for better wages and working conditions.

The union victories were not gained easily. Many United States employers had fought unions, even to the extent of hiring their own private police to keep union organizers out of the factories. For a short time, during the sudden surge of unionizing in America, Communists gained an influence out of all proportion to their numbers because their training made them useful in teaching the newly organized workers how to gain a lot through the determined actions of a few.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, created the Committee for Industrial Organization to organize unions for the first time in all the mass-production industries, like automobiles and steel. Lewis first set out to organize the steel industry. Communist veterans of labor strife volunteered and turned out to be the hardest workers. A Republican most of his life, John L. Lewis did not hide the fact that he used Communists to organize unions. He considered them useful but temporary tools for achieving a goal.

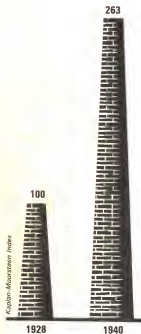
It was true that the Communists, by virtue of having organized some of the unions, often rose to high offices within them. As a general rule, however, they were not able to stay in power very long. The workers at first trusted the Communists because of what appeared to be their total dedication to the workers' own welfare in the bitter struggles of the organizing movement. But later, when the Communists began using their union offices to promote causes that the workers did not even understand, much less support, the motives of the Communists became so easily recognizable that all but a few were soon voted out of office.

The Rise of Fascism. A foreign event that, for a time, gave Communists increasing prestige and influence was the tragic Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939. Spain, which had known little progress under monarchic rule for centuries, had become a republic in 1931. Five years later, left-wing parties gained control of the government. Although Communists were included, they did not run the cabinet. Soon afterward, several army units led by General Francisco Franco rebelled and began fighting to overthrow the government.



CHALLENGER OF MOSCOW'S AUTHORITY

Communist China's chief, Mao Tse-tung, is one of the 12 founders of the Chinese Communist party. At first he opposed affiliating his party with the Communist International dominated by Lenin. This heresy proved prophetic, because in later life he became the chief Communist thorn in the side of international Communism's leader, Nikita Khrushchev.



INDUSTRY'S SURGE
UNDER STALIN

Total Soviet industrial production in 1940, as this diagram shows, was more than two and a half times what it had been in 1928. Enforced industrialization that took place in the U.S.S.R. during Stalin's various Five-Year Plans set a record pace—but at a vast cost in money, personal freedom and human life.

Several of the great powers undertook to see that the Spanish Civil War did not spread to the rest of Europe. To do so, they agreed to an embargo on arms shipments or other aid to both belligerents. Accordingly, France, Britain, and the United States effectively kept the Spanish republican government from securing arms aid. But Hitler and Mussolini, out of ideological sympathy for the rebels, blatantly circumvented the embargo. Italy sent tanks and over 100,000 troops to Franco. German planes and pilots, attacking republican forces, destroyed the ancient Basque city of Guernica and badly damaged other cities and towns. Only Soviet Russia among the world's great powers sent aid to the Spanish republic. At a time when it seemed that democracies everywhere were cowering before Hitler's threats, the Soviet Union was applauded by many who thought that fascist Germany was the greatest danger to humanity. But in addition to sending arms, the U.S.S.R. was playing its own vicious political game in which the goal was a powerful Spanish Communist party strong enough to dominate the republican government.

This feeling about Russia deepened during the Munich Conference of 1938, when Britain and France weakly abandoned Czechoslovakia to Hitler in the hope of "peace for our time." Stalin, however, had given the impression that he would fight with the Czechoslovaks against Hitler, and the Soviet Union at that point seemed to be the only nation encouraging a firm stand against Germany. Events would soon prove how little credit was deserved by the U.S.S.R., but the emotional climate of the late 1930's in many countries was anti-fascist and pro-Soviet.

Stalin the Builder. Another reason for pro-Soviet feeling was Stalin's impressive achievements in lifting the U.S.S.R., in a single decade, to the first rank of great industrial powers. What his admirers did not know—or forgot—was *how* he did it. As we have seen, he did it literally with the blood of the Russian people.

He squeezed the capital needed for building industry out of regimented peasants and out of deprived industrial workers. A whole generation of Russian workers built blast furnaces while they could not buy so much as a razor blade or a safety pin. They paid huge taxes, and the strength of their labor unions was utterly destroyed.

Stalin was inexorable in his drive for industrialization during the 1930's. He declared the U.S.S.R. must accomplish in ten years what other nations had in a hundred, or be crushed. In that decade he shoved the Russian people forward overnight into the modern age at the cost of millions of lives. He reared a whole system of new industry far beyond the Urals, where invaders could never reach it. It was well he did, for Hitler would shortly launch a massive onslaught against him that would threaten the existence of the Soviet Union.

THE CHAPTER IN REVIEW

Understanding What You Have Read:

1. Summarize the results of the free election of November 1917. How was Lenin able to overcome these election results?

2. After he had gained power, what measures did Lenin take to crush the external and internal opposition to his policies? Were these measures successful? Explain.

3. Summarize the economic conditions in Russia during the period of "war communism." What was the cause of these conditions? Explain how Lenin's efforts to suppress the protests against his policies illustrate his quest for power.

4. Briefly describe the background of each of Lenin's lieutenants and the positions they held. Explain why the struggle for power was inevitable upon Lenin's death. In what way was Stalin able to eliminate his most important rival, Trotsky? Lenin's so-called testament counseled the party to remove Stalin from his position as general secretary of the Communist party. How did Stalin counteract these instructions?

5. Compare the various plans which were initiated to improve the economic conditions in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin. Describe the purposes, characteristics, and degree of success of each program.

6. Summarize the events of the purges that began in 1934. What was Stalin's excuse for the purges? How did Communists in other countries react to Stalin's bloodbaths?

7. Why did the early Marxists believe that Germany would become the first socialist nation? Were the attempts to establish communism in European nations other than Russia successful? In what area did communism make its first major impact felt outside the U.S.S.R.?

8. Trotsky believed that communism could not be established suc-

cessfully in one nation alone, and that the Soviet Union should therefore actively support an immediate Communist revolution in all nations. Did Stalin agree with Trotsky on this point? What were the slogans used to describe each position?

9. What effects did the great depression of the 1930's have on the influence of the Communist party in the United States?

10. Summarize the events of the late 1930's which created the image of Soviet Russia as the country which saved Europe from Hitler-Mussolini fascism. Was this status justified? Compare the achievements of the Soviet Union by 1941 with the sacrifices and hardships which were imposed upon the Russian people.

Questions for Discussion:

1. How do you explain the fact that so many revolutions have immediately been followed by reigns of terror? Why was the American Revolution not followed by a similar period of bloodshed? What is your opinion of Lenin's celebrated remark, "Nonsense, how can one make revolution without execution?"

2. Since Stalin was not one of the most prominent Bolshevik leaders, why was he able to emerge victorious over his many rivals in the struggle for power following the death of Lenin? Can you explain why Lenin did not prevent a power struggle by picking a successor before his death? What provisions for the succession to power exist in the Soviet Union today?

3. If Trotsky had been able to remove Stalin, do you believe that he would have automatically secured the position of Lenin's successor? How might Russian and world history have been affected if Trotsky, not Stalin, had become the Communist leader?

4. Do you feel that Stalin could

have used more humane methods in his first Five-Year Plan and still have achieved his aims? Why was he not overthrown?

5. If World War II had not intervened, do you suppose that Stalin would have renewed his purges? How would you explain the fact that the Communist party in the United States was attracting some of its largest following at the same time that Stalin was conducting his trials? What effect do you think that the inhumane, undemocratic methods used by the Communists to solve the problems of the U.S.S.R. had on thinking people throughout the world?

Activities:

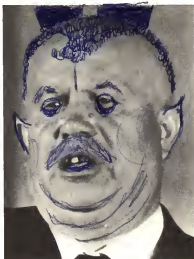
1. One of the most interesting phases of the period of war communism (1918-1921) was the Allied intervention in Russia, when the United States, Japan, the United Kingdom, and France landed forces on Russian soil "to protect Allied interests." Prepare an oral report to be presented to the class on this topic. What were the various motives involved?

2. Write a report on the life and death of Trotsky. Include some background material on his assassin.

3. Write a book report on Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, a novel which was written against the background of the Spanish Civil War.

4. Hold two mock trials of Joseph Stalin for crimes against the Russian people. In the first, use the methods employed in the purge trials; in the second, use the American system of due process of law. Students might investigate more recent Soviet trials to ascertain whether Communist "justice" has improved.

5. As a Communist editor, write an editorial "justifying" measures used by Stalin in his forced industrialization. Then answer this editorial as editor of your own local newspaper.



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
porky pig

4 The Goal:

World Triumph of Communism

In the quarter century following the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the Soviet Union emerged as an aggressive, expansionist powerhouse of communism. But in its determination to dominate the world it found itself facing, as well as the non-Communist West, another great center of Communist power in Asia. Seldom has there been a period filled with such earthshaking events and upheavals.

This fateful era saw Stalin join with Hitler in 1939 in the Soviet-German pact that helped to unleash World War II. Two years later, it was marked by Hitler's betrayal of Stalin and a German invasion of the Soviet Union. The period saw the West's attitude toward communism seesaw from revulsion at the Soviet-German pact to admiration and friendship when the Russian people threw back the German hordes. In 1941 came the treacherous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which resulted in a grand alliance of the United States, Britain, and the U.S.S.R. In 1945 Germany collapsed, and Japan's defeat was completed by the use of atomic bombs.

The years immediately following World War II were marked by the beginning of the cold war. The U.S.S.R. turned against its allies and expanded its domination over Eastern Europe, while the West finally united to check further Communist expansion there. The period also saw the Communists win China and turn to open aggression in Korea and Vietnam. But a deep split developed in the Communist world when Red China challenged the "peaceful coexistence" policy assumed by the Soviet Union.

The period saw Stalin's death in 1953, the ascendance of Nikita Khrushchev, and the startling revelations of Stalin's crimes. Then came the valiant struggles for freedom in East Berlin and Hungary—ruthlessly put down but opening the way for the European satellites gradually to obtain more independence. The period also saw Communist science leap ahead with the hurling of the first object and the first man into orbit. And it saw Communist power overleap its immediate borders to threaten peace in the Congo, to offer arms aid to Egypt and Algeria, to threaten Laos and South Vietnam. It saw peace threatened over Berlin and the world brought to the brink of war with the establishment of Russian missile bases in Cuba. When the Soviets backed down and assumed a peaceful stance toward the West, their split with China deepened. Finally, these years saw the downfall of Khrushchev himself and the assumption of power by his "friends" Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksi Kosygin.

The Soviet-German Pact

Early in the morning of August 24, 1939, Joseph Stalin raised a glass to toast Joachim von Ribbentrop, foreign minister of Nazi Germany. Less than three years earlier, Von Ribbentrop had signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, which pledged Germany, Italy, and Japan to a relentless fight against communism—that is, against the U.S.S.R. Stalin, whom the world had regarded as Hitler's most determined enemy, toasted the Führer's health. Von Ribbentrop drank to Stalin's. In the course of that long night, the Nazis and the Communists had signed a secret protocol that ruthlessly divided the lands that lay between them and had agreed on a nonaggression pact. Eight days later Hitler went to war with Poland and Britain, and France declared war on Germany in Poland's defense. World War II was on.

Hitler's Lightning War. Hitler soon took western Poland and Stalin took the eastern part of that country under the secret provision of the nonaggression pact. Stalin also moved into neighboring Finland, ostensibly to make Leningrad and the Soviet Arctic more secure against possible attack. In the spring of 1940, Hitler took Norway and Denmark with lightning swiftness. He smashed into the Low Countries, pushed the British into the sea at Dunkirk, and



**BITTER ENEMIES NOW
BECOME BRIEF ALLIES**

Stalin congratulates his ally, Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop, in late September, 1939. A year later, in Nazi Germany, Von Ribbentrop assured visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov that Britain was already defeated. During the discussions, a British air raid on Berlin forced the Nazis and Molotov into a shelter. Molotov asked, "If [England is finished] why are we in this shelter, and whose are these bombs which fall?" A month after he left, Hitler formally ordered preparation of Operation Barbarossa—the invasion of the Soviet Union.

forced France to its knees by June 1940. England stood alone against the Axis.

Stalin now found himself facing a Hitler able to command continental Europe's tremendous manpower and resources. Stalin grabbed what he could while he could. He seized the tiny Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. From Rumania he took Bessarabia and northern Bucovina, notifying Hitler only at the last moment.

The Grand Alliance Defeats Hitler

On June 22, 1941, Hitler struck. His armies swarmed across Russia's borders. Within hours of the surprise attack, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill said that Britain would "give whatever help we can to the Russian people." Two days later President Roosevelt announced that the United States, still at peace, would give all possible aid to the U.S.S.R. That December, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war, American soldiers on Bataan felt bound in a joint struggle with the Soviet soldiers who were dying in battle against the common enemy. General Douglas MacArthur later sent a cable paying tribute to "the courageous Russian army."

The Great Decision at Stalingrad. The stand was indeed courageous. The Russian people fought on with incredible sacrifice and bravery, and the world hoped that the crimes and conspiracies of communism were things of the past. Leningrad was under German bombardment for 900 days, often at the mercy of a single perilous supply line. About one fifth of its 3.2 million people died—but the city would not surrender. Even more inspiring was the battle of Stalingrad, the city on the Volga against which Hitler hurled division after division all through the fall of 1942. In the blackened shells of the buildings, remnants of Soviet divisions fought on, defending every ruin to the death. Germany threw some 350,000 troops into the onslaught, but as winter came Marshal Georgi Zhukov closed pincers around them north and south, and the Nazis were annihilated. By January 1943, only 91,000 frozen, shell-shocked German survivors were left to surrender. This great battle marked the turn of the tide against the Nazis.

The United States and Britain carried on their share of the fighting—in the vast Pacific against Japan, in North Africa, and, after D-Day (June 6, 1944), directly against Hitler's Europe. Meanwhile Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin held a series of conferences both on war strategy and on postwar settlements. From the first, one of the most troublesome problems facing these "Big Three" representatives was the question of the territory and freedom of Poland, for which Britain had gone to war in 1939.



A Flood of Allied Aid

British tanks are loaded on a Russian merchant ship in late 1941. Though hard-pressed, the U.S. and Britain poured enormous quantities of supplies into the U.S.S.R. to help beat the Germans. U.S. aid alone totaled \$11 billion.



A Fateful Meeting

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin meet in the Russian resort city of Yalta during February 1945 to discuss postwar policy. At the meeting, the Big Three pledged free elections in liberated nations—a promise that Stalin never kept.



FIGHTING FOR STALINGRAD in 1943, Russian soldiers advance through the smoking rubble to break the five-month German siege. This was a major turning point in the invasion of the Soviet Union and in World War II itself. As part of Khrushchev's program of downgrading Stalin, the city was renamed Volgograd in 1961.

make war no more

The Betrayal of Poland. A Polish government-in-exile had been functioning in London since early in the war. It had insisted that Stalin divulge the whereabouts of over 10,000 Polish officers who had been captured by the Russians during their drive into Poland in 1939. In the spring of 1943, German troops occupying Smolensk found some 4,000 Polish officers buried in a mass grave in the nearby Katyn Forest. Charges and countercharges as to who was responsible gave Stalin an excuse to cut off all relations with the exiled Polish government in London. A year later, as advancing Soviet forces drove into eastern Poland, a Communist-sponsored Committee of National Liberation was formed as a provisional government of Poland. In August 1944, the Polish underground army in Warsaw, loyal to the exiled government in London, rose to fight the retreating Germans. Russian troops, on the other side of the Vistula River, halted their advance and waited while the Germans slaughtered the Poles.

When Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met in February 1945 at Yalta, Western leaders got Stalin to agree to "free and unfettered elections" in Poland and to promise to broaden the provisional government by including Poles from the London group. Details were to be worked out by conferences in Moscow. The Allied leaders also pledged free elections to form representative and democratic governments in all the liberated nations. However, Stalin soon violated these Yalta agreements. On February 27, the Soviet diplomat Andrei Vyshinsky appeared in Bucharest, Rumania, and ordered King Michael to dismiss his coalition government. On March 6, a Commu-

THE BETRAYAL OF HEROIC WARSAW

On July 29, 1944, Moscow Radio broadcast an appeal to the people of Warsaw to rise against the Germans, saying that liberation was near. After the Polish Underground began to fight on August 1, the Soviet radio went silent and so did the Soviet guns. Stalin kept his army idle until the Polish heroes were annihilated. One of Warsaw's last broadcasts said: "Your heroes are the soldiers whose only weapons against tanks, planes and guns were their revolvers and bottles filled with petrol. Your heroes are the women who tended the wounded and carried messages under fire, who cooked in bombed and ruined cellars to feed children and adults, and who soothed and comforted the dying. . . . These are the people of Warsaw. Immortal is the nation that can muster such universal heroism. For those who have died have conquered, and those who live on will fight on, will conquer and again bear witness that Poland lives when the Poles live." In their death struggle they cost the German army 10,000 killed, 7,000 missing, 9,000 wounded.

nist-dominated regime was installed. At the meetings on Poland in Moscow, Stalin's foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, continually vetoed all suggestions made by the United States and British ambassadors, while in Poland the Soviet-backed provisional government began executing hundreds of potential opposition leaders.

Wartime Pledges Betrayed. Meanwhile the Western Allied troops under General Dwight D. Eisenhower crossed the Rhine, and the Soviets pushed through Poland into Germany. By April, American troops were at the Elbe River near Berlin. Roosevelt and Churchill had never definitely agreed between themselves on postwar plans for Germany, nor had they drawn Stalin into a firm pledge for joint policies. There was agreement only on zones of occupation: Soviet in the east, American in the south, British in the north, and joint control by all three of Berlin. Subsequently the French were also assigned a zone. Actually, the United States troops broke through Germany so fast they could probably have taken Berlin before the Soviet army. Instead, following orders, they waited on the Elbe until Soviet troops took Berlin and then linked up with them at the river. But after May 8, when Germany surrendered, the American forces were withdrawn to their own zone.

No guarantee of access to Berlin was sought. All this was done in good faith and in the belief it was worth risking high stakes to keep the Soviet Union's confidence and friendship in the postwar era. But both Roosevelt and Churchill had been deeply troubled by the Soviet Union's violations of the agreements on Poland. And these fears were well-grounded. As in Poland, Stalin slowly began extending Communist rule to those sections of Europe occupied by Russian troops. In Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, the pattern, with slight variations, was much the same.

At first, the Communists joined with non-Communists in coalitions. In Poland, for example, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, leader of the London Poles, entered the government. Landownership reforms and other popular measures were begun. But then the leaders of the non-Communist parties were either jailed or forced to flee. The Communists meanwhile extended their control over police, army, press, radio, and all centers of power and propaganda. Eventually Communist tyranny became complete. These transition phases were not needed in Yugoslavia and Albania, where local Communist dictators Josip Broz (Tito) and Enver Hoxha, who had led Communist guerrilla armies (Partisans) against the Germans and Italians, were already in power at the war's end. In 1948, however, Tito was to break with Stalin, and Yugoslavia was to become the first Communist nation not completely subservient to Moscow.

The Tragedy of Czechoslovakia. More than any other event, the Communist take-over in Czechoslovakia awakened the American people to Stalin's aim of world domination. Czechoslovakia had been

born a democracy. Its founder, Thomáš Masaryk, had proclaimed the independence of the republic in Washington, D.C., in 1918.

In the postwar election held in Czechoslovakia in 1946, the Communists got the largest vote (38 percent) because the Czechs remembered that, at the time of the Munich agreement in 1938, the U.S.S.R., unlike England and France, had sounded as though it were prepared to defend the Czechs against Hitler. Communist leader Klement Gottwald became premier. So far this was all legal.

Gottwald then tightened his control of the police and army. With new elections approaching in 1948, he forced Czechoslovakia's President Eduard Beneš to accept a cabinet made up entirely of Communists except for Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, a non-Communist. Two weeks later Masaryk jumped, fell, or was pushed to his death. Beneš, broken by Masaryk's death and the emerging tyranny, resigned, and died the following September.

All this showed the West that Communists gave their own meanings to the "democracy" and "free elections" they had pledged at Yalta. To them a free election was one that only Communists could win. To them the Communist dictatorships they set up in Europe were "people's democracies," although there was no democracy and the people had no voice.

The West now learned another harsh lesson. In talks on Berlin the Communists had conceded that access to the city through 110 miles of Soviet-occupied territory was implicitly guaranteed in the arrangements for joint occupation of the country. By 1948 relations among the former Allies were getting progressively worse. Stalin had looted the Eastern zone of Germany and commandeered almost the entire agricultural output for shipment eastward. The West responded by merging its zones for economic purposes and later undertaking a major currency reform. In June, as a reprisal, Stalin suddenly blockaded the Western section of Berlin and forbade access from the west. There was no longer any question. The cold war was in full force.

The West Responds to the Cold War

As Stalin began the cold war abroad, he prepared the Soviet Union for it at home. Few countries have been left as ravaged as the Soviet Union was left by Hitler's hordes. The area west of the Ural Mountains had been seared. Nearly every family had lost one or more members among the more than twenty million dead. Great power dams, bridges, and railroads had been blown up. The U.S.S.R. could not have survived—much less won—without the tremendous new industrial complex that Stalin had built in the 1930's east of the Urals, or without the more than \$11 billion worth of United States tanks, trucks, and other wartime aid.



**THE ALLIES JOIN UP
IN GERMANY**

American and Russian soldiers welcome each other joyously as they meet at the Elbe River on April 25, 1945. U.S.-Soviet relations were possibly at their best during this period when the twin drives across Germany, from east and west, ended in victory.

Stalin Prepares for World Domination. Simply repairing this damage would have seemed work enough for the Soviet Union for a decade. Certainly the Russian people thought only of peace. But Stalin's thoughts were of making the U.S.S.R. the most powerful nation in the world.

In a speech in February 1946, he called for "a new mighty upsurge of national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production . . . threefold as compared with the prewar level. . . . we must [produce] 50 million tons of pig iron per year, 60 million tons of steel, 500 million tons of coal, and 60 million tons of oil." Ambitious as this seemed at the time, Stalin's 15-year goals were uncannily close to what the U.S.S.R. was actually to achieve. And Stalin set another target that was to be remembered. "I have no doubt," he said, "that if we render the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able . . . to surpass the achievements of science outside . . . our country." Three years after these remarks, the Soviets had exploded an atomic bomb. Later they were to come remarkably close to beating the United States to the creation of the awesome H-bomb.

But the Russian people benefited little from all this. After all their heroism and sacrifice, they had surely proved their right to be trusted. Instead they got still more repressions and persecutions. The more than five million Soviet citizens who had been prisoners or

A Short Dictionary of Communist Jabberwocky



"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty says in "Through the Looking Glass," "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less. . . ." Communism's spokesmen over the decades have shown that they decide what certain words mean, even if they reverse usual meanings. Here is some of the confusing Jabberwocky used by the Communists.

Aggression. Communists state this can be committed only by capitalist or "imperialist" powers. The *Dictionary of the Russian Language* defines aggression as "The armed attack by one or several imperialist countries against other countries with a view to . . . their forcible subjugation and the exploitation of their people." Since Communist countries refuse to believe that they can be aggressors, no military action they take can be so defined. Thus, when Communist North Korea invaded South Korea, it contended that South Korea had committed aggression. Similarly, when the U.S.S.R. violated treaties with its attack on Poland and the Baltic states, the invasion was brazenly described as protective.

Democratic Centralism. This is the theory under which every local party cell, unit branch

forced laborers under the Germans were treated as suspected traitors, and many were executed. Every soldier who had been west of Warsaw had seen the superiority of the Western way of life. They, too, were watched closely, and the slightest sign of nonconformity was ruthlessly punished.

The West Fights Back. Even before the Berlin blockade, the West had begun to marshal its defenses against further Communist expansion. Churchill, speaking at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, summed up the situation by saying, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent."

In the United Nations, the United States and Britain insisted that the U.S.S.R. honor its earlier agreement to remove its troops from Iran at the end of the war. The Soviet delegate, Andrei Gromyko, in protest at such mistrust, staged the first of many "walkouts." But Stalin did withdraw his troops, leaving behind a short-lived puppet regime in the border province of Azerbaijan.

The United States began shifting from a policy of "patience and firmness" to a definite "containment" policy in order to block Communist expansion. In September 1946, after the Soviets rebuffed an American offer for a twenty-five year treaty against renewed German aggression, Secretary of State James Byrnes made an important speech at Stuttgart, Germany. This address signaled a changed

and district committee is supposed to debate policies on a democratic basis before they are decided, then obey unswervingly the central group's decision. In practice, the Central Committee of the Communist party and the dictator who heads it make all the decisions from the top and impose them on the people as a whole.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In Marx's theory, this would be a temporary dictatorship by the workers over society until all classes disappeared and the state "withered away." In Communist practice, the term describes a dictatorship, "in the name of the workers," by the party leadership—and finally one man—over the proletariat and everybody else.

Peaceful Coexistence. Contrary to the implications of the words, this is a technical, Communist-coined phrase that in the past has been used to note a temporary stage when the conflict with capitalism was limited to econom-

ic and political competition. In preaching this, Soviet and European Communist leaders profess to believe communism eventually will demonstrate its superiority over capitalism and will come to power everywhere without open warfare.

National-Liberation Wars. This describes a "just" war approved of by the Communists, as opposed to an "unjust" war. It relies on guerrilla warfare, usually led by Communists, and is most successful where oppressive governments exist. Then Communists can play on righteous resentments to overthrow one tyranny and install their own.

People's Democracies. This is a term developed to explain the Communist dictatorships which were set up by the Red Army in the eastern European countries it occupied. Actually the result is that the countries have no democracy, and the people no voice in running them.



IN TOKEN OF THE ALLIES' DETERMINATION TO KEEP BERLIN FREE, AN AMERICAN

American attitude toward defeated Germany, which now was to be regarded as a potentially powerful ally. Byrnes ended all talk of destroying Germany's industrial power by pledging the United States to support the rebuilding of the factories and mills shattered in the war.

In March 1947, President Truman announced one of the most significant plans of the postwar years. This plan, which became known as the Truman Doctrine, in essence pledged U.S. support to free countries threatened by "armed minorities, or by outside pressure." In accordance with this policy, Truman sent military and economic aid to back Greece and Turkey against Soviet threats.

At Harvard, in June 1947, the new secretary of state, George Marshall, chief of staff in World War II, proposed a plan whereby the United States would provide loans if European nations would coordinate efforts to rebuild their war-damaged economies. This proposal was to become famous as the Marshall Plan. The Soviets came to a conference in Paris, convened to work out plans for this gigantic undertaking, but Molotov bluntly rejected the proposals Britain and France put forward. He walked out of this meeting and forbade all eight satellites—still nominally independent—from joining a larger Western European conference, as some of them wished to do. The U.S.S.R. then launched the *Cominform* to coordinate worldwide Communist action, to lead the Communist parties of France and



CARGO PLANE BREAKS THE 1948 BLOCKADE ESTABLISHED BY THE COMMUNISTS

Italy in fighting the Marshall Plan, and to tighten Communist control over Eastern Europe.

The Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia had followed swiftly after President Beneš indicated interest in the Marshall Plan. A few weeks after that seizure, in March 1948, Britain, France, and the Benelux nations—Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg—signed the Brussels Treaty, an alliance providing for mutual assistance against any new aggression. In April the same five nations and eleven others joined to form the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) to coordinate the Marshall Plan. Then in June came the Berlin blockade.

A Victory for Firmness. Had the West allowed the blockade to stand, West Berlin would have quickly starved to death, without food, fuel, and other materials from the outside. President Truman met the challenge with a massive airlift, which for eleven months performed incredible feats. The airlift fed Free Berlin, clothed it, heated it. Above all, it gave Berlin the spirit to defy Stalin. In May 1949, the Soviets suddenly agreed to lift the blockade. Courage and firmness had won. By then, the West had taken additional steps against aggression. In April 1949, the United States, along with Canada, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Italy, and Portugal, joined the five Brussels Treaty powers to form the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO organ-

ized the first international peacetime army, designed to prevent new wars by having a force in existence ready to defend Western Europe.

The Cold War Grows Hot

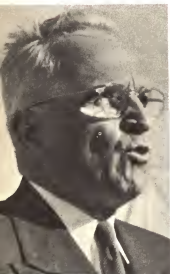
Following the end of the war with Japan, the United States had occupied Korea south of the 38th parallel, and Soviet forces had occupied the northern section. It had also been agreed that Korea would be unified after "free elections" had been held. The Soviets withdrew their troops, formed a well-armed Communist puppet state in industrialized North Korea, and refused to allow the United Nations to supervise the pledged free elections. The United Nations did hold such elections for South Korea, and a republic was formed. The United States withdrew its forces in 1949.

While this was going on, the situation was deteriorating throughout Asia. During World War II, the United States had sent arms and advisers to the Chinese Communists. The Communists were then fighting Japan from their stronghold of Yanan in northern China, where they had fled from Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. The United States also encouraged Generalissimo Chiang to work with the Communists against Japan. In the territory they captured, the Chinese Communists undertook only mild changes, leading some Western reporters to describe their policy as long-overdue agrarian reform in the ownership of land, the assessment of taxes, and so on.

With the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Communists dropped all pretenses. They renewed the civil war with Nationalist forces and by the end of 1949 had driven the last of them from the mainland. Chiang fled to the island of Formosa (also known as Taiwan), 100 miles offshore, where he re-formed an army of 500,000 men and continued to be recognized by the United States as head of the legitimate government of China. But the Communists held the Chinese mainland itself—a major factor encouraging Communist aggression in Asia.

Attack in Korea. At dawn on Sunday, June 25, 1950, the well-armed, well-trained North Korean army slashed across the 38th parallel into the Republic of Korea. President Truman immediately asked for an emergency session of the U.N. Security Council. By chance, the Soviet delegate had been absent since January in protest over the seating of Chiang's Nationalist Chinese delegate to speak for China. With the Soviet Union not present to veto action, the Security Council that same day called the North Korean attack a "breach of the peace" and urged members to "render every assistance to the United Nations."

This was a historic milestone: It was the first attempt by the United Nations to punish and defeat aggression. President Truman immediately committed United States land forces to defend South



FATEFUL DECISION TO DEFEND KOREA

President Truman (above) developed a policy to restrain Communism from further expansion. His "Truman Doctrine" in 1947 sent U.S. aid to fend off imminent Communist aggression in Greece and Turkey. One of Truman's toughest decisions came in 1950, when Communist North Korean troops suddenly invaded South Korea. Even as the U.N. Security Council branded the invasion as "an act of aggression," Truman sent U.S. troops to Korea to halt the Communists. Later the U.S. was joined by other U.N. forces to stop this Communist aggression.



FIGHTING IN KOREA. U.S. Marines withdraw under heavy attack from Chinese Communists who had joined the North Koreans. Although U.N. forces were driven

back from the Chinese border, they succeeded in repulsing the Communist invasion of the Republic of Korea. More than 250,000 American troops saw action in Korea.

Korea through "police action." This, too, was a significant break with the past, for under the Constitution only Congress can authorize military action.

The undeclared war in Korea took more than 54,000 American lives before its indecisive end; but the aggressors were forced back to their prewar lines and were served notice that the non-Communist world was ready to fight.

The Free World did gain some victories in Asia. In the Philippines, the Communist guerrillas were crushed by a democratic leader, Ramón Magsaysay, who won his people's support through reforms. In Malaya, the British fought a fierce, nine-year jungle war against the Communist-led Malayan and Chinese guerrillas, and they finally re-established control.

Khrushchev Replaces Stalin

But now the world's eyes turned to Moscow. On March 4, 1953, the Communist party leaders announced that Stalin, then seventy-three,

had suffered a cerebral hemorrhage, and two days later they said he was dead.

Who Would Follow Stalin? Two big questions loomed: Could Stalin's total power, built on total terror that made millions of Russians hate and fear him, possibly survive the man?

Could the survivors, even if they could keep this power, find some way of using it that would not set all of them at each other's throats?

There were no legal guides for the surviving leaders' future action. Their party, having seized power initially from the people's own duly elected assembly, had no legal right to power. How could a dictator be named to succeed Stalin when the constitution authorized no dictator in the first place? Moreover, the Russian people, knowing that the leaders had been nothing more than Stalin's vassals, would not fear them as they had feared Stalin.

Fascinated, the world watched the merciless struggle for power among Stalin's survivors.

The most likely winner seemed to be Georgi Malenkov, who had become a full Politburo member in 1946, when he was only forty-four. Now, as top member of the Secretariat next to Stalin, he controlled the party machinery. As deputy premier, he had vast influence over the whole industrial and governmental bureaucracy.

The next most likely seemed to be Lavrenti Beria, who as head of internal security controlled the secret police and as minister of the interior controlled a substantial part of the national economy, including the development of atomic energy.

The speculation outside the U.S.S.R. did not include mention of Nikita Khrushchev, whose rise in recent years had gone unnoticed. Born in 1894, a miner's son and onetime shepherd boy from the Kursk Region, close to the Ukraine, he had worked as a mine mechanic in the Donets Basin and had risen through party work in the Ukraine to boss of the building of Moscow's famed subway. In 1938, as Communist chief of the Ukraine, he ruthlessly purged party ranks. After the war, Stalin used him as an agricultural expert and he became one of the dictator's closest associates. He was a "rough diamond" compared with the more cultured Malenkov and some of the others.

The day after the announcement of Stalin's death, the chieftains agreed that Malenkov should take one of Stalin's posts as chairman of the Council of Ministers, or premier. Since Malenkov already headed the party Secretariat, this gave him both of Stalin's old jobs—and too much power in his colleagues' eyes. A few days later Malenkov resigned the party post, and Khrushchev became leader of those who remained on the Secretariat.

Somewhat earlier, doubtless to placate the powerful Soviet army, Marshal Georgi Zhukov, the hero of Stalingrad, had been brought back to become deputy minister of defense from the obscure out-



Communist Europe



Communist countries



Free World alliances

THE COMMUNIST BLOC, shown in red, has some real cracks. Yugoslavia is Communist, but has not been a consistent follower of Moscow. Albania, though allied with the Soviet Union, sides with Red China and has earned the Kremlin's enmity. The free nations (white) guard the West against aggression.

post to which, jealous of his wartime popularity, Stalin had exiled him.

One thing Malenkov, Khrushchev, and the others apparently could agree on—Beria, as boss of the secret police, was dangerous to them all. They acted quickly. On July 10, 1953, *Pravda* announced without any warning that Beria had been stripped of all power and positions. Not until the following December did it reveal that he had been tried and executed for, among other charges, having been a “British agent” in Lenin’s day.

The Showdown. The battle for supremacy now narrowed to a fight between Malenkov and the comparatively unknown Khrushchev. It was waged over a basic question of policy: Should priority be given to the needs of the consumer, or to heavy industry?

The people, as always happens when a tyrant dies, were expecting a relaxation of pressures—not only in the U.S.S.R. but in all the satellite countries as well. And in the fall of 1953, Premier Malenkov did signal a turn toward more freedom and more comforts for the average Russian. He encouraged debates on varying approaches to literature, art, and drama. He promised more shirts, shoes, dresses, and motor cars. He granted amnesty to many prisoners.

Now head of the party, Khrushchev could give increasing attention to the woeful state of Soviet agriculture. In Stalin’s last years, managers of the farm program, fearful of purges, had simply created rosy statistics that concealed a great lag in agricultural production. Now Khrushchev proposed solving the U.S.S.R.’s chronic shortage of food by instituting a vast program of plowing and planting millions of acres of “virgin lands” in Siberia and other semi-arid regions. To this end he demanded and got most of the Soviet Union’s farm machinery production for the next year assigned to his program.

But carrying out this program would make it harder for Malenkov to live up to his promises on consumer goods. Khrushchev acted against Malenkov in other ways. On a visit to Communist China, Khrushchev promised its chief, Mao Tse-tung, vast amounts of industrial aid. This would place even heavier strains on Russian heavy industry, and Malenkov was put on the defensive.

Khrushchev to Power. At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet on February 8, 1955, a functionary astounded the audience by rising to read a written request by Malenkov that he be allowed to resign and be replaced by “another comrade with greater administrative experience.” The statement made the sort of confession and self-accusation that used to be familiar at Stalin’s purge trials. Those confessions in Stalin’s time used to be followed by executions, but Malenkov remained briefly as a deputy premier and as a member of the Presidium (as the Politburo was renamed in 1952). Khrushchev then nominated as Malenkov’s successor that “faithful son of the Communist party,” Comrade Nikolai Bulganin, who had been a full member of



**KHRUSHCHEV PLAYS
PRINCE BOUNTIFUL**

Khrushchev congratulates Mao Tse-tung at the 1954 celebration in Peking of the Chinese Communists' fifth year in power. Georgi Malenkov, then Soviet premier, was trying to provide added consumer goods for the Russian people. Khrushchev promised to send Mao lavish shipments of heavy Soviet tools and machinery to help Red China industrialize. Such commitments made it hard for Malenkov to carry out his domestic policies and heightened his political warfare with Khrushchev. The next year Khrushchev forced Malenkov to resign.

the Presidium since 1948. And into Bulganin's job of defense minister went Marshal Zhukov.

Since he had put Bulganin in the job, Khrushchev, as had Stalin, now really controlled both government and party. Technically, Khrushchev could still be outvoted by other members of the Presidium, but he had achieved the necessary springboard for total power.

Having consolidated his position at home, Khrushchev now turned to protect the Soviet position in the increasingly restive Communist satellites. In East Berlin the people had started riots in June 1953 which came so close to revolution that Soviet tanks had to be sent into the city. Tito's Yugoslavia, which had broken free of Stalin in 1948 to pursue Communist goals in its own national way, was still independent of Moscow and was an embarrassment to Soviet leaders. The \$2 billion in aid from the United States had helped Tito make his country more prosperous than most of the satellites. And his Workers' Councils, which had given the people considerable autonomy in determining their own production plans, wages, and so forth, had set off demands in Hungary, Poland—even in the Soviet Union—for similar privileges. Stalin had executed many satellite leaders suspected of sympathy with Yugoslavia, but he had been unable to touch Tito. In May 1955, in an attempt to patch up relations with Yugoslavia, Khrushchev flew to Belgrade with Premier Bulganin and talked with Tito.

Khrushchev was now ready to thrust himself upon the world stage. Churchill had long been calling for a "meeting at the summit" in the hope that the world's leaders could find some way for communism and the rest of the world to reconcile their differences. But Eisenhower had called for Soviet deeds, not words, to prove a desire for reconciliation. The Russians provided such a "deed" by suddenly agreeing in late spring 1955 to sign a long-sought treaty with Austria, which would withdraw the occupying Soviet army from that country and allow it to assume the free life of a neutral. Eisenhower came to the summit meeting at Geneva in July 1955 to meet Bulganin and Khrushchev and his old wartime friend Marshal Zhukov.

Undoubtedly, Khrushchev wanted to gain the propaganda effect of a peaceful "spirit of Geneva," reflected in photographs of Eisenhower and Bulganin in smiling camaraderie. The U.S.S.R. circulated these photographs throughout the satellite countries in an attempt to bolster its claim that, regardless of Eisenhower's repeated demand for "liberation" of captive nations, the United States was on good terms with the U.S.S.R. and would not go to war to free the satellites. At the Geneva meeting the Soviet delegates also agreed in principle to "reunification" of Germany through "free elections." Khrushchev and Bulganin, however, hurried off right after the summit conference to assure the East German leaders that no such actions would take place.

Amidst these foreign maneuvers, Khrushchev sought to make himself popular at home as a man who, unlike Stalin, went around the country to meet and talk with ordinary people.

Policies of the Twentieth Congress. The Communist party's Twentieth Congress, which was held in February 1956, rocked the Communist world to its foundations. Khrushchev's need for a clean break with Stalinism was urgent in order to gain more flexibility in his policies. The farm problems demanded a massive revision of Stalin's policies; so did the red tape of overcentralized industry and the need to revise accepted dogma to accommodate Yugoslavia and other "deviations" without a bitter party battle.

The Twentieth Congress laid down these important policies:

► *War is not inevitable.* Despite Lenin's preachment that "wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists," Khrushchev declared that "the world camp of socialism" had now become strong enough to make capitalists fear to launch new wars; it possessed "not only the moral but also the material means [that is, armies and weapons] to prevent aggression." That new fact made possible something else:

► *Peaceful Coexistence.* Peaceful coexistence was to seek ultimate Communist victory in a sharpened competition with capitalism at every level—ideological, political, economic, and scientific. In this competition communism would so demonstrate its superiority that all peoples everywhere would want to adopt it voluntarily. Victory might even come through the ballot, if Communists could capture a majority in democratic parliaments and then transform them "into a genuine instrument of the people's will"—in other words, a Communist dictatorship. But all this was not quite so peaceful as it sounded. Where democracies failed to surrender voluntarily—or, as Khrushchev put it, "where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus"—the final victory would still require "a sharp class, revolutionary struggle," or civil war.

► *Alliance with Neutralists.* As a companion to this concept, Khrushchev described "a vast zone of peace" containing a majority of the world's uncommitted peoples who could join forces against the West. He was referring to "the emergence in the world arena of a group of peace-loving . . . Asian and African states" that refused to be drawn into military blocs. Part of "peaceful coexistence" with the West was to be a race to win the support of these emerging nations. To win it, communism could soft-pedal its traditional emphasis on violent revolution and cooperate with the "bourgeois nationalist leaders" whose nations would inevitably be drawn toward socialism.

Khrushchev quoted Lenin's 1917 remark: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable—but not all will do so in exactly the same way." A "people's democracy" in the satellites was cited by Khrushchev as a new form of socialism. The deviations of Chinese Communists he called "creative Marxism in action." Using this ap-



**KHRUSHCHEV EATS
SOME HUMBLE PIE**

Khrushchev arrives in Yugoslavia in 1955 to give Marshal Tito a friendly hand-shake. Stalin had called Tito the vilest names imaginable and had sought to have him murdered or overthrown. This visit could have been a very humiliating experience for Khrushchev, but he put all of the blame on Beria and other "despicable agents of imperialism." While the explanation did help ease relations with Yugoslavia, it also was an important factor in encouraging the satellites to seek relaxation of Moscow's strong rule.



**FRUITLESS MEETING
AT THE SUMMIT**

Premier Bulganin (left) was the titular leader of the Soviet Union when President Eisenhower met him "at the summit" in Geneva in 1955. Bulganin, who was taking his orders from Nikita Khrushchev, ostensibly reached agreement on disarmament and elections in Germany. When the meeting was over, Khrushchev and Bulganin went to Germany to assure their puppets that they had nothing to fear. And far from disarming, the U.S.S.R. permitted the Czechs to ship arms to Egypt, which helped stir up the Suez Canal crisis within a year.

proach, he could accept Tito's differing forms of "economic management and organization of the state apparatus" as merely another variation of "socialist construction."

Unmasking Stalin Himself. Having made these major departures from Stalinism, Khrushchev was now ready to downgrade the dead dictator himself and to disown any personal guilt for Stalin's crimes. With detailed documentation, Khrushchev tore into the "cult of the person of Stalin." He unfolded the horrifying story of hundreds and thousands of men—many of them prominent Communists—who had been murdered at Stalin's orders for things they had never done. He neither mentioned nor deplored the murder of millions of Russian peasants during the forced collectivization of the 1930's.

Actually, Khrushchev himself had applauded the murders, whether of Communists or peasants, at the time they happened. The extent of the terror was indicated by Khrushchev's report that of 139 Central Committee members and candidates elected at the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, 70 percent were later killed. Of 1,966 delegates, 1,108 were arrested for revolutionary crimes.

Khrushchev in some detail exposed Stalin's insane vanity and self-glorification, and ended with a solemn pledge: "Comrades! We must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all."

The Oppressed Peoples Rise. The news of Stalin's desanctification spread like wildfire through the satellites. The Hungarians had been getting more and more restive ever since the ouster of their premier, Imre Nagy, who had followed Malenkov's line. In his place was a vicious Stalinist, Matyas Rakosi. The Poles, always a fiery and rebellious people, also had been chafing.

Khrushchev's speech set off tremendous pressure for more freedom in both Hungary and Poland, and events were now exploding all over the Communist empire. Tito had arrived in Moscow on June 1 for his first visit since the break with Stalin. On June 20, Khrushchev and Tito issued a joint declaration recognizing that "the path of socialist development differs in various countries and conditions."

Within a week, serious troubles erupted in the satellites. In Poland, in the industrial city of Poznań, an international fair was under way to show off the "fruits" of communism. But overworked, underfed workers took advantage of the presence of Western visitors to shout: "Bread! Freedom!" Police rushed in, and the angry workers attacked them. In the end, fifty-three lay dead; hundreds of other workers were in jail.

In April, Wladyslaw Gomulka, the Polish Communist leader whom Stalin had imprisoned for deviationism, had been released. After the Poznań uprising, the demand for his leadership rose all over Poland. On October 19, 1956, yielding to this demand, the Polish Central Committee readmitted Gomulka to its ranks. At the same time the Polish Politburo was dissolved.



IN THE POLISH REVOLT Poznań workers, seeking higher wages and freedom from Russian control, march toward secret police headquarters in June 1956. Some

30,000 workers staged a general strike, but tanks and troops were rushed in to suppress the revolt. Casualties were officially reported as 53 dead, 300 wounded.

Gomulka immediately announced wide reforms of Stalin's worst repressions. Khrushchev flew to Warsaw. In two lengthy sessions, he insisted that Gomulka reinstate the deposed Stalinists in a newly formed Politburo. Gomulka's supporters, who knew the ways of the Russians, had prepared for the meeting by having rifles and pistols issued to the workers in the important Warsaw factories. When Khrushchev threatened to order the Soviet army to move on Warsaw, Gomulka told him the workers of Warsaw were ready to fight if need be.

Khrushchev gave in. Gomulka was now named first secretary with power to implement reforms. Soon he would even turn the lands of the hated collective farms back to the peasants. A Communist satellite leader had successfully defied the Kremlin—at least on internal policy—and won.

The Tragedy in Hungary. In Hungary, the people's demand for justice swelled irresistibly. Dictator Rakosi was dismissed, only to be replaced by another Stalinist, Ernő Gerő. But hundreds were released from jails, and 300 Hungarian intellectuals were allowed to take a Danube steamer excursion on a holiday trip to Vienna, the gay capital of Austria.

This glimpse of what life could be like in a free country, in a bustling Vienna now rid of Soviet occupation, was "a complete and total shock to the visitors," wrote a foreign correspondent. "After they came back many writers couldn't work; their whole life had been changed." There was talk all over Budapest of "free elections."

Within hours, the news from Warsaw of Gomulka's successful defiance of the Kremlin raced through Budapest. On October 22, more than 4,000 students of the Building Industry Technological University met as a "parliament" in the main hall. They voted a list of "Sixteen Demands," three of which especially stung the Gerö government: that Rakosi be tried for his crimes, that Russian troops get out of Hungary, and that free and secret elections be held. When the state radio refused to broadcast those particular demands, students all over the university typed copies of them. Soon batches were in every factory, pinned up on walls, tied to trees.

The next day, October 23, thousands of students and workers gathered in the square outside the parliament building, calling for Imre Nagy, who had been readmitted to the Communist party only the week before. Nagy appeared briefly. Some of the students moved on to the radio building, once again seeking air time for their demands. Some of the hated AVH (secret police) guarding the building became rattled and fired into the crowd. The crowd, peaceful until then, ran wild. They attacked the AVH and seized weapons. The regular police, who shared the hatred for the AVH, opened their arsenals to rebel workers. Now armed, the people stormed the radio building and began shooting down the secret police as they fled. Political prisoners were released. In Budapest's factories, and all over Hungary, workers met and elected "revolutionary" and "workers'" councils.

At dawn on October 24, the Hungarian Central Committee named Imre Nagy prime minister. But he was kept under guard and could do nothing. The Politburo members asked Nagy to sign an appeal for Soviet troops. When he refused, they issued it anyway. That same night, Soviet tanks crunched into Budapest. Hungary's own army began fighting the Russian forces, using tanks that the Russians had supplied. Even children fought the Soviet tanks—with crude bombs made of gasoline-filled bottles.

On October 27 Nagy emerged, free to form a genuine people's government. Cardinal Mindszenty, imprisoned since 1948, was released and gave his blessing to the Nagy regime. A national hero emerged in Colonel Pal Maleter, commander of the Kilian Barracks. Wave after wave of Soviet assaults pounded the barracks, but Maleter and his brave men held firm. After the battered Soviet forces finally withdrew on October 30, Nagy made Maleter his defense minister.

Moscow said that Soviet forces would be withdrawn from Budapest. On November 2 and 3, the U.N. Security Council in New York



A SOVIET TANK COMMANDER EXECUTES HIS ORDERS TO CRUSH OUT HUNGARY'S MOMENTARY FREEDOM



**A NATION RISES TO
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM**

A freedom fighter lurks in a Budapest doorway during the wild days of October 1956. The world cheered as tiny Hungary rose against the might of the Soviet Union and its brave people clawed their way to freedom. When the U.S.S.R. violated its vow to withdraw and subjugated Budapest with fresh armor, thousands of Communists all over the world quit the party in revulsion. For a "workers' state" had coldly murdered workers rising against an intolerable tyranny.

was considering Premier Nagy's request that the U.N. protect Hungary's neutrality. It adjourned until Monday on the Soviet delegate's assurance that negotiations for withdrawal were in progress. On the evening of November 3, Maleter went to Soviet military headquarters to complete these negotiations. After a banquet in their honor, Maleter and aides were seized and whisked away.

At dawn on Sunday, November 4, new waves of Soviet tanks smashed through Budapest. Hungary's brief days of self-won independence now ended in blood and agony. Premier Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy. When he left it, under the Soviet pledge of safe-conduct to his home, he was grabbed by waiting men. In some undisclosed dungeon, he and Maleter were subsequently put to death.

Soviet brutality in the murder of Hungary created the greatest revulsion among the Communists and their sympathizers abroad since Lenin had executed the Kronstadt sailors in 1921. Thousands of Soviet students asked why Communist soldiers had shot down fellow Communists. At the same time, Khrushchev's position became shaky. Despite his previous demotions of die-hard Stalinists, some were still on the Presidium. Given a good issue, they might be able to throw him out.

A Plot Against Khrushchev. A Presidium meeting was called for June 18 to discuss a relatively trivial matter. Khrushchev's followers have since given a report of what happened there. From the moment the meeting opened, a majority began voting against Khrushchev on issue after issue, making sweeping attacks on all phases of his policies and accusing him of starting his own "cult of personality." Finally, his resignation as first secretary of the party was demanded. The vote was seven to four. Only one thing went wrong. Khrushchev would not accept their decision.

Under formal party rules, one fourth of the Presidium could demand a full session of the Central Committee. Khrushchev insisted that only such a full session could make so important a decision as the deposing of the first secretary. Through his control of the party machinery, Khrushchev knew that he could find his strongest support in the full session. He called it and when the vote came, Khrushchev won.

He did not waste a second in moving to clean out his enemies. All of them, despite sharp variations on particular policies, had been opposed to Khrushchev, so he simply lumped them together as "the antiparty group." He accused them of every conceivable crime in the Communist lexicon and ousted most of them.

In March 1958, nine months after this victory, he removed Bulganin and became both premier and first secretary—combining the two top jobs Stalin had held. Thus, he reached the pinnacle of Soviet power.

Khrushchev's Decade of Absolute Power. Nikita Khrushchev dominated Soviet policies for a decade, most of it as absolute dictator. It was a period of profound change, at the end of which there was no longer a single "Communist world" but several worlds, full of conflicts and sharpening rivalries. The movement of events changed all the relationships of the world's Communist governments—to each other, to their own peoples, to Communist parties outside the bloc, and to the whole non-Communist world.

At first some Westerners, encouraged by Khrushchev's merciless denunciation of Stalin, hoped for some lessening of communism's determination that its system would prevail throughout the world. It soon became clear the change in this regard was mainly in tactics. Khrushchev proved himself an even bolder antagonist than Stalin, and willing to take bigger chances. Stalin had confined his probes to the Soviet Union's own borders. Khrushchev did not hesitate to charge into Egypt, to make a stab at the distant Congo, and even to penetrate the Western Hemisphere in Cuba.

The "Rolling Crisis" Technique. Time and again, Khrushchev proved himself the master of the "rolling crisis" technique, through which he turned tension on or off as with a faucet. Using this technique, he managed to keep the West vacillating between peaks of optimism and of anxiety. Thus, he ran a warming bath of "spirit of Geneva" optimism in 1955, followed by a cold shower of rocket threats during the Suez Canal crisis of 1956. He raised war fever with menacing moves at the Quemoy and Matsu Islands off China in 1958, then lowered it with the cordial "spirit of Camp David" in his meeting with Eisenhower in 1959. At Vienna in 1961, Khrushchev told President Kennedy that he would force the West out of Berlin. This threat evaporated in the face of American firmness. But in 1962 Khrushchev set up missile bases in Cuba, and the world came to the edge of nuclear war. Only a strong stand by the United States forced Khrushchev to back off. And then followed a period of greatly relaxed tensions, culminating in the nuclear test ban treaty.

On balance, the Soviet Union during these years seemed to have embarked on a program of trying to make its Communist system prevail—in Khrushchev's words, "to bury the West"—by peaceful rather than warlike means. It is now clear that this policy of giving at least lip service to peace was the basic cause of what history will undoubtedly record as the greatest event of the Khrushchev era: the cataclysmic split between the two giants of communism—China and the U.S.S.R.

The Great Russian-Chinese Conflict

We have seen the explosive effects of Khrushchev's denunciations of Stalin on the European satellites. The effects on distant China



In September 1959, Khrushchev came to the United States for a thirteen-day visit. He toured several parts of America and spent two days with President Eisenhower. The two leaders are shown at Camp David, the President's mountain retreat near Washington. Several aspects of the cold war, including disarmament, were discussed, but no definite agreements were reached. The meeting, however, was a friendly one.

were not as immediately apparent but were eventually to be more far-reaching.

Communist China had its own firmly implanted Stalin in the person of party boss Mao Tse-tung, and he had no intention of changing either himself or his system, whatever the Soviet leaders might do. In fact, at the very moment that Khrushchev started tearing down Stalin's pictures and monuments in the U.S.S.R., Mao began giving them even greater prominence in China.

There were historical and nationalistic reasons for friction between these two great powers, as well as the ideological one that was to become paramount.

Historical and Nationalistic Causes. The Chinese distrusted the "red-haired devils" from the West—the Russians—who in the past had taken from them a land mass in Siberia and northern Asia almost as big as Europe. The Soviets, while saying they opposed annexation, had virtually absorbed Outer Mongolia, and since World War II had menaced China's westernmost province of Sinkiang. At the war's end, Stalin seized Manchuria's factories and dominated its railways and Port Arthur's naval base, abandoning all this quite reluctantly when Mao came to power in 1949. Mao also resented Stalin for letting China's Communist party almost be destroyed in 1927 and for rejecting Mao's theory that the peasants rather than the workers would make China's revolution. Mao felt he had succeeded in spite of Stalin, and clearly regarded himself—after Stalin died—as the world's number one Marxist-Leninist. Mao regarded Khrushchev as an upstart, but tolerated him until his 1956 speech denouncing Stalin disrupted the whole Communist bloc.

The breach widened after the Soviets beat the United States to the successful testing of an intercontinental missile and, later, to the orbiting of a satellite in 1957. The Chinese then assumed the balance of power had shifted against the West, and they expected the Soviets to embark on more aggressive steps toward world revolution. Specifically, Peking wanted a share in Russia's atomic bomb and wanted Moscow to back up the Chinese Communists in their continuing threats against the nationalist government on Formosa. The Chinese bombarded the offshore islands opposite Formosa—Quemoy and Matsu—in 1958, but got no real help from Moscow. And no help in atomic development was offered. Instead, in 1959 Khrushchev made his tour of the United States, visiting President Eisenhower and preaching the line of "peaceful coexistence."

Mao regarded all this as a betrayal of Lenin's admonition that communism must "destroy" capitalism or be destroyed by it. He also began charging that Russia had broken its promises to China and was making deals with the United States.

It is clear that Khrushchev wished to avoid a thermonuclear war, while Mao—who had no atomic power at that time—took the ex-

treme position that if nuclear war came, China could lose half its people and still have more than 300 million left—enough to rule what was left of the world. The name-calling was soon out in the open for all to see. In answer to charges of broken promises, Khrushchev began talking about “lunatics and maniacs who wanted war.”

Economic Causes. There were other sources of friction. In the economic field, Mao resented Moscow's withdrawal of help for China's industrial development, particularly since the Soviets were giving massive aid to a non-Communist regime, by helping President Nasser of Egypt build the Aswan High Dam. Also, when the Chinese staged their invasion of India's Himalayan borders in late 1962, Russia infuriated the Chinese by going ahead with plans to deliver warplanes to India.

Even Khrushchev's greatest aggressive move, the attempt to place missile bases in Cuba, failed to appease the Chinese. They termed this “adventurous” and branded his decision to remove the bases as “cowardice.” The Soviets later charged that in the Cuban crisis Peking had offered what the Soviets called “inflammatory” advice, which, if followed, “would have plunged the world into thermonuclear war.”

At first many suspected both sides might be using the break as a smokescreen in a purely naked power struggle. Mao certainly did set out to try to displace Khrushchev as the number one Communist leader. He sent emissaries to other countries, particularly to the neutralist Asian and African nations, selling Peking's brand of communism with considerable success. Mao was well aware that 69

THE BORDER WAR ABOVE THE CLOUDS

This map shows India's 2,200-mile-long Himalayan frontier, where the Chinese Communists infiltrated for years and mounted a major assault in the fall of 1962. Unprepared to resist invasion, the Indians retreated all along the border. The Chinese finally stopped for reasons of their own. They pulled back in some areas but kept most of Ladakh, where they were building roads to connect captive Tibet with their western-most province, Sinkiang.



percent of the world's people are nonwhite and that racial as well as ideological arguments were advanced in these areas. In Cuba considerable headway was made with the charge that Moscow had abandoned the Cubans when the missile bases were pulled out.

The Ideological Split. But beyond these moves, and behind the millions of propaganda words, there was the ideological split between the Chinese and Soviet leaders, a cleavage far deeper than the personal ambitions of a Mao or a Khrushchev, and one that seemed destined to outlast them both.

Each side claims to be the only true interpreter of Marx and Lenin. To the Chinese, the Russians are "revisionists" seeking to discourage revolutions in order to protect their "have" nation. To the Soviets, the Chinese leaders are "dogmatists" willing to risk nuclear war in order to promote small wars and revolutions to benefit the "have-not" nations.

At the risk of oversimplification, it might be said that one seeks peace, the other war, as a national policy.

United States—Soviet Relations: From Crisis to Relaxation

We have seen how Khrushchev made a national policy of blowing hot and cold in his relations with the United States. But he was always careful to leave himself a graceful exit—except once—and that remains one of the great mysteries of the Khrushchev era. Why, in 1962, did the Soviets take such a gamble as placing missiles in Cuba, on the doorstep of the United States?

The Cuban Crisis. There is still no clear answer to this question, but several possible reasons present themselves. It is now known that if the Soviets had embarked on a crash program in 1957 to mass-produce intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), they could have gained a clear military superiority over the United States. For whatever reason, they failed to do this. They made large quantities of short-range missiles, but left the United States with superiority in long-range missiles. By deciding to place short-range missiles in Cuba, the Soviets may have hoped to create the same advantage they would have held with more ICBMs, and thus perhaps to soften the hard United States stand on such pressure points as Berlin.

Also, those continuing Chinese charges of "softness" toward the West may have exerted pressure on Moscow to take bolder steps. And the disastrous American-backed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 may have caused Khrushchev to doubt the firmness of U.S. leadership.

Whatever the reason, in 1962 Khrushchev decided to take the risk of sending missiles to Cuba. He also swiftly landed some 22,000 So-

viet troops, equivalent to two combat divisions. Communism had made its first armed penetration of the Americas.

A Firm Stand Brings Results. The Soviets evidently were not prepared for the American response. At best, they may have hoped to alter the world's balance of power without a real challenge. At worst, they may have been prepared to see the bases destroyed by an air attack. This would have given them an enormous propaganda advantage: to portray the United States as an "imperialist aggressor."

They evidently were not prepared for President Kennedy's policy of limited, gradually increased pressure. Instead of bombings, they confronted a mighty United States naval cordon and a firm warning that Soviet ships carrying missile supplies would have to turn back or be sunk. And they faced, as well, the careful marshaling of world opinion by the American delegate to the United Nations.

In the end, all this combined pressure forced Khrushchev to abandon the venture. He agreed to dismantle and remove the missiles under U.N. inspection in return for an American pledge not to invade Cuba. As it turned out, since the Cuban leader Fidel Castro refused to allow U.N. inspection, the United States pledge was never required. But President Kennedy continued to pursue a restrained policy toward Castro, and Khrushchev, in turn, began removing his Soviet troops in stages throughout 1963.

A SOVIET MISSILE SITE in Cuba is shown in this U.S. Defense Department photograph taken by a reconnaissance plane. This base was in the north central part of

Cuba. When the picture was taken, on October 23, 1962, the missiles had just been installed. Nine days later, on November 1, the missile base was being dismantled.





**"A SINGLE STEP"
TOWARD PEACE**

U.S. Under Secretary W. Averell Harriman (left) talks with Premier Khrushchev after initialing the nuclear test-ban treaty. On the 10th day of talks held in Moscow in the summer of 1963, delegates agreed on an 800-word statement. The treaty, later ratified by the United States Senate and by more than 100 other nations, calls for an end to nuclear explosions in the air and under water for an "indefinite duration."

The Test Ban Treaty. And at this point the Soviet leaders decided to seek a relaxation in the cold war. On June 10, 1963, President Kennedy, in a commencement address at American University, provided an opening. He asked Americans to "reexamine our attitude toward the Soviet Union . . . not to see conflict as inevitable, accommodation as impossible, and communication as nothing more than an exchange of threats." In effect, he was bolstering the Soviet case against the Chinese—that capitalists could be trusted to seek genuine "peaceful coexistence." Kennedy warned that "nuclear powers must avert these confrontations which bring an adversary to a choice of either a humiliating retreat or a nuclear war." He announced that test ban treaty negotiations would shortly begin in Moscow, and that as a sign of good faith the United States "does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere as long as other states do not."

Premier Khrushchev was quick to take up the President's proposal. As a gesture of his own good faith, he accepted an earlier Kennedy proposal that Washington and Moscow set up a closed-circuit teletype "hot line" for instant communication in the event of any new crisis such as the one in Cuba.

When the American and British delegates arrived for the test ban negotiations, Khrushchev received them with great geniality. When Chinese delegates arrived for meetings on how to end the China-Russia conflict, Khrushchev let lesser Soviet officials deal with them. It was a measure of the upside-down turn of affairs that Radio Peking was being jammed while Soviet citizens were allowed to listen to the Voice of America without interference.

The treaty was quickly signed. President Kennedy hailed it as "a small step forward" toward better relations. The Chinese—like France—refused to sign, as did their neighbors Communist North Korea and North Vietnam. The United States and the Soviets went on to improve relations further by reaching an agreement at the U.N. not to place nuclear weapons in space. By the end of 1963 the thaw had reached the point where the United States had authorized the sale of some \$250 million worth of wheat to the Soviets, whose grain reserves were depleted by one of history's worst droughts and by continuing failures of the collective-farm system.

Premier Khrushchev, in a 1964 New Year's greeting to the American people, expressed the hope that both sides could move on from the nuclear test ban treaty to a reduction of arms spending and other relaxations of tension. America's new President, Lyndon Johnson, in a speech to the U.N. affirming his continuation of President Kennedy's policies, said the United States "wants to see the cold war end, once and for all."

On May 19, 1964, it was discovered that the United States embassy in Moscow had been "bugged" with forty microphones that

might have allowed the Soviets to eavesdrop on confidential conversations if embassy officials had been careless. But not even that event seriously impeded the thaw in the cold war during the remainder of Khrushchev's tenure in office.

Strangely, the Cuban crisis seemed to have brought the two great rivals closer together.

The Downfall of Nikita Khrushchev

On the afternoon of October 15, 1964, many Americans were in front of television sets watching the seventh game of an exciting world series. News bulletins started to interrupt the game, bulletins they could scarcely believe. There were reports that Nikita Khrushchev, the spry, chubby little man who had ruled Russia for so long, had been relieved of power.

Khrushchev Disappears. There had been no hint of such a development to the outside world, yet it turned out to be true. But how? And why? No one, inside or outside the Soviet Union, believed the official explanation carried by the Russian news agency Tass: that Khrushchev, who was seventy, had requested that he be replaced because of his age and health. It developed that not even the Russians believed this, for two days later *Pravda* carried editorials indirectly attacking Khrushchev for "harebrained schemes" and for seeking to establish a "cult of personality," indicating clearly his ouster was far from voluntary.

As to what had happened to the deposed leader himself, there was not a word. For a time, in fact, it was as though Khrushchev had never existed. His pictures suddenly disappeared from public places. Books and official histories recounting his accomplishments vanished from stores and library shelves (many would be reissued later after suitable editing).

Five months later Khrushchev was to make his first public appearance—to vote—but so strict was party discipline that neither then, nor the few later times when he has been seen, did this once so articulate man say anything. He is permitted to live in comfort, which is an improvement over the days of Stalin. But, if physically alive, he is politically dead. As far as the people are concerned, Khrushchev vanished just as swiftly and just as effectively as did those who physically died in the earlier, more bloody purges.

How Did It Happen? As to how the ouster was accomplished, the outlines of the story came out slowly. The first hint, if one had been wise enough to see it, had come three months before. It was announced then that the president of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, had given up that largely ceremonial post to become a full-time deputy in the Communist party, chief assistant to his friend and mentor Khrushchev. From this strategic post, Brezhnev with

other of Khrushchev's "friends," including the first vice-premier, Aleksii N. Kosygin, and the man who had succeeded Brezhnev in the presidency, Anastas Mikoyan, began their work in great secrecy.

Khrushchev's big mistake, which he must later have ruefully realized, was in spending so much time traveling and speech-making, while leaving these trusted associates to run the government back in Moscow. We have seen how, in 1957, the majority of the Politburo, or Presidium, voted to oust Khrushchev only to be overruled by the full Central Committee. This time the dissidents made sure that they had lined up a majority of the committee as well as the Presidium.

On September 30, 1964, Khrushchev left for a vacation on the Black Sea coast. On October 12 he spoke by radio to three Russian cosmonauts orbiting the earth, saying he would greet them back in Moscow. It was an appointment he was not to keep. For that same day, the Presidium met in Moscow and made its grave decision.

Khrushchev was called home. He was allowed to plead his case before the stony-faced members of the Central Committee, but on October 14 they voted his removal as first secretary of the party. The next day the Presidium removed him as premier. Then at last they told their people—and the world—that for the first time in Soviet history a supreme leader who had held power for any length of time had been dethroned before his death.

Unlike previous purges, only a few others in high places fell with Khrushchev. The chief one was his son-in-law, Aleksii Adzhubei, who lost his job as editor of *Izvestia*. Most of his other former close associates stayed on, and two of them now assumed the top posts. For, as in the early Khrushchev days, the jobs of party chief, or first secretary, and premier, or chairman of the Council of Ministers, were again going to be separated.

Khrushchev's Successors. Succeeding Khrushchev as first secretary of the party was Leonid Brezhnev, a technician who likes to refer to himself as a fifth-generation steelworker. A careful, quiet man who had worked his way up by cooperating closely with the organization, he had been called "the Communist in the gray flannel suit." Basically, however, he owed both his early start and later rise to Khrushchev.

Brezhnev was born in the Ukraine in 1906. He worked quietly and efficiently in party ranks and in the 1930's came under the wing of Khrushchev, then Ukraine party chief. A political commissar in the army during the war, Brezhnev won a post on the Central Committee in 1952. He dropped into relative obscurity for a time during the struggle for power after Stalin's death, but in 1954 Khrushchev took him on as his chief assistant in agricultural matters. Brezhnev supported Khrushchev in the 1957 showdown with Malenkov and was rewarded with the Soviet presidency in 1960.



Leonid Brezhnev, who succeeded Khrushchev as first secretary of the Communist party

Khrushchev's other job, that of premier, was taken over by Aleksy Kosygin, a highly trained and capable economist who had held important posts under both Stalin and Khrushchev. But Kosygin took so little apparent interest in party affairs, and paid so much attention to the details of economic planning, that Khrushchev referred to him disparagingly as "that bureaucrat." Nevertheless, he, too, owed his high position to Khrushchev.

Kosygin was born in St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, in 1904. He studied economics and business and held posts as foreman, and then director, of several factories before entering politics as mayor of Leningrad in 1938. In 1941 he became minister of consumer industries and a vice-premier of the U.S.S.R., and in 1946 he was the youngest member of the Politburo. But for some reason he fell into disfavor and was relegated to minor posts until after Stalin's death. Then, in 1959, Khrushchev made him chairman of the State Planning Commission and in 1960 first vice-premier. He was unquestionably Khrushchev's most trusted economic adviser.

Why Did It Happen? As to the "why" of Khrushchev's ouster, the answers are not so clear. It may have been partly a fear that his increasingly intemperate blasts at China might goad Mao into open war. The new leadership was not going to change his foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence," but it was going to be quieter, and perhaps more effective, in combating the warlike Chinese. Henceforth, in public at least, Peking's propaganda blasts would be suffered mainly in silence.

And as for domestic policies, the new regime would speed up agricultural and economic reforms already gingerly started by Khrushchev. By 1966 the laws of supply and demand and profit incentive would be increasingly utilized as we shall see, but none of this represented a basic change from the direction in which Khrushchev was headed. And there certainly would be no change in the tight political control the party leaders would maintain.

Altogether, leaving aside the question of purely personal ambitions, it seems likely Khrushchev was deposed not so much for his policies as for the hit-and-miss manner in which he carried them out. The loud, outgoing political extrovert was replaced by two quiet, comparatively introverted technicians, the "organization man" and the "bureaucrat." Flamboyance gave way to reserve.

Foreign Reactions

The Chinese press had hailed jubilantly the downfall of Khrushchev. In fact, the event seemed to rank in importance with China's first explosion of an atomic device, which came just one day later, on October 16, 1964. Things, indeed, seemed to be looking up for the Peking faction of the party, and China's Premier Chou En-lai



Aleksy Kosygin, who succeeded Khrushchev as premier

hurried off to Moscow to reap the advantages. He was destined for disappointment.

New Frustrations for China. It was the first top level Sino-Soviet meeting in a year and a half. Chou arrived with fanfare, spent six days in the Russian capital in long conferences with the new Soviet leaders, and departed in silence. It was evident there had been no healing of the split. Soon the recriminations, increasingly bitter, began again to flow from Peking. And soon the new, now silent, Soviet leadership was working quietly among Communists in other countries to stem the Chinese tide.

As we have seen, Mao's emissaries in the Afro-Asian countries had achieved considerable success with their charges that Russia had lined up with the "white oppressors" against the "have-not" nations. But now there were signs this campaign was slowing down. Many of these countries had had their revolutions and weren't interested in fomenting new ones. And besides, the U.S.S.R. was a possible source of meaningful material aid, while China was not.

In June 1965, when Premier Chou En-lai toured Africa, four of the new African nations refused even to invite him into their countries. And a serious blow to Chinese prestige in Asia came in October 1965, when a coup sponsored by Peking-supported Communists was ruthlessly put down in Indonesia. Popular indignation against the Chinese there was climaxed in April 1966 with the sacking of the Chinese embassy in Djakarta.

On the other side of the world, after the Russian missile bases were pulled out, Fidel Castro's Cuba had begun an ideological flirtation with Peking, but this, too, seemed blighted when it was discovered that material help from Russia was sorely needed. By trying to work both sides of the street, Cuba may be left in the middle. In his May Day speech of 1966, Castro bitterly assailed "industrial Communist countries" (i.e., Russia) that put the welfare of their own people first and failed to share their blessings with others.

A climax to the Sino-Soviet split came after the Chinese tried again to foment trouble with India. While Peking was encouraging Pakistan in her war with India in 1965, who should step in and settle things but that alleged mother of revolutions, Russia. The new Soviet premier, Kosygin, brought the Indian and Pakistani heads of state together in the ancient city of Tashkent, and on January 10, 1966, succeeded in getting them both to agree to a settlement.

Now, indeed, the cleavage between the U.S.S.R. and China appeared to have reached the point of no return. At the very time that Peking was calling for wars of liberation and revolutions almost everywhere, the Soviet Union had actually stepped in to settle a war between two non-Communist nations.

The United States Watches and Waits. The United States reacted cautiously to the Khrushchev ouster. Three days after the



When China's Premier Chou En-lai toured the new nations of Africa in 1965, he was greeted by Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, above. Tanzania is an independent republic including the former British territory of Tanganyika and several offshore islands. As elsewhere on his tour, Chou En-lai's visit to Tanzania did little to further the expansionist ambitions of China.

event, on October 18, 1964, President Johnson discussed it in a nationwide television address. He had guarded praise for Khrushchev, who, he said, had been guilty of "dangerous adventures" but had "learned from his mistakes." He paid tribute to Khrushchev for agreeing to the test ban treaty, for keeping outer space free of nuclear weapons, and for establishing the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow.

The President said he did not think Khrushchev had been deposed because of these peaceful gestures and added that he had been assured by the Russian ambassador that the new Soviet rulers planned no basic change in foreign policy. The Soviet leaders themselves, as a matter of fact, were already publicly and privately assuring the West of just this. Specifically, they announced they would adhere to the test ban treaty and other arrangements, and in July 1965 they agreed to a resumption of disarmament talks. Kosygin and Brezhnev also began seeking increased trade with the West and welcomed all visitors from the West, particularly spreading out the red carpet for France's President De Gaulle when he toured the Soviet Union in the summer of 1966.

A Threat to the "Thaw." But a new factor entered the picture insofar as relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States were concerned. In their statements immediately after Khrushchev's ouster, the new leadership had pledged to carry on with the program of peaceful coexistence. But at the same time they were careful to say they would also support what the Communists call "people's wars of liberation." To them, the fighting in Vietnam was just such a war, and Russia had long been aiding the North Vietnamese.

So when in February 1965 increasing North Vietnamese aggression caused the United States to start bombing North Vietnam and to build up its land forces in the south, the cold war thaw with Russia that had set in after the Cuban crisis was threatened with a new freeze.

At first little was said, but on March 4, 1965, Russian police stood aside and allowed some 2,000 students, mostly Asians, to attack the United States embassy in Moscow. And in subsequent public statements, the Soviet leaders have stuck to the line that, much as they wish to improve relations with the United States, no such improvement is possible until the end of what they call "American aggression" in Vietnam.

To many neutral observers all of this has seemed rather restrained. Certainly it was restrained enough to further infuriate the Chinese.

When the Soviets staged their big twenty-third Congress of the Communist party in March 1966, the Chinese refused to attend. Instead, Peking issued a propaganda blast charging Moscow with "working hand in glove with the United States in a whole series of dirty deals" aimed at selling out North Vietnam. The Chinese went



French President Charles de Gaulle's visit to the Soviet Union in 1966 was squarely in line with his policy of breaking away from NATO restrictions and making France the leading power in Western Europe. Above, he is shown on a visit to the Hermitage, formerly an imperial palace, now a Soviet museum.



AS AMERICAN TROOPS ADVANCE through the jungle in Vietnam, they pass an elderly Vietnamese woman standing beside her home—a hole in the ground topped

with straw and palm leaves. American policy in South Vietnam includes helping the people to improve their living conditions as well as the defeat of the Viet Cong.

on to charge that the Soviets and the Americans were threatening her with “encirclement,” a charge reminiscent of the fears Stalin used to raise, for propaganda purposes, against the West.

To none of this did Moscow reply publicly. It continued to criticize “American aggression” and continued to send supplies to North Vietnam. China continued to attack both the United States and the U.S.S.R., sometimes the latter more fiercely than the former. On July 12, 1966, for example, Peking declared that Russian aid to North Vietnam was “sugarcoated poison designed to give [the Soviets] a free hand in sabotaging the revolutionary struggle.”

All of which seems to indicate that if Moscow-Washington relations are getting no better, Moscow-Peking relations are getting steadily worse. The differences between Russia and China now seem as deep as the differences between Russia and the United States. And as far as Peking is concerned, one of us is as bad as the other.

THE CHAPTER IN REVIEW

Understanding What You Have Read:

1. Why did the U.S.S.R. sign a "non-aggression pact" with Germany in 1939? How did Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. in 1941 influence the Soviet Union's relationship with the Allies? What events led to Germany's World War II defeat? How did the Soviet Union's role in this defeat affect its status with the West?
2. List some of the agreements made by Stalin at the various wartime conferences with other Allied leaders. Explain how he actually regarded each agreement. Briefly describe the "communization" of the areas under Russian domination at the end of World War II. Describe actions taken by the United States and its allies in blocking further Communist gains. Define the terms "Iron Curtain," "Truman Doctrine," "Marshall Plan," "NATO."
3. Briefly state the results of Communist activities in China, Korea, the Philippines and Malaya. What is the significance of resistance by the non-Communist world to Communist aggression in Asia?
4. Summarize Khrushchev's actions with respect to (a) the restive satellite nations, (b) the Western powers, (c) the Russian people. List and explain the policies laid down by the Communist party's Twentieth Congress, in 1956. Why did Khrushchev denounce Stalin?
5. What were the effects of the "de-Stalinization" movement on the European Communist nations? on China? Describe how the satellite countries tried to gain more freedom, and summarize the results.
6. Discuss the reasons for the Soviet-China split from these viewpoints: historical, military, economic, ideological. Does the split seem to be getting narrower, or wider? Why?
7. Why do you think Khrushchev installed missiles in Cuba and sent

Soviet troops there? Describe the countermove by the United States. Did Khrushchev expect this reaction?

8. Briefly discuss the relaxations of tension after the Cuban crisis, which led to the signing of the test ban treaty. What nations refused to sign the ban? Why?

9. Why did the attempt to oust Khrushchev fail in 1957? Who were the people involved in the move to strip him of power in 1964, and why did they succeed? Why do you think Khrushchev was ousted? What is meant by an "unperson"? Discuss the similarities and differences between the present rulers of Russia and Khrushchev.

10. Describe the reactions to Khrushchev's ouster in the United States; in China. What reasons are there to believe China is losing ground in spreading her brand of communism? What was the significance of Soviet sponsorship of the India-Pakistan truce?

Questions for Discussion:

1. Does history repeat itself? Review Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 and compare it and its results with Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. In what ways were these campaigns similar? different? What mistakes did each dictator make? Does this comparison illustrate the importance of the study of history? Can you think of other apparent repetitions in history?
2. Do you feel the Western powers made a mistake in trusting the Soviet Union to keep the wartime agreements? Can you think of problems facing the West developing out of Soviet violations of these agreements? Should we trust the Communists in any agreements pertaining to disarmament? Do you believe that we can "peacefully coexist" with the Soviet bloc indefinitely?
3. Has the West taken any definite measures to help liberate satellite

nations? Should we take such steps? Could we ethically and practically have intervened in the Hungarian uprising of 1956? Do you approve of United States aid to Communist nations such as Yugoslavia and Poland? Give your reasons.

4. Which do you think is more faithful to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine: Chinese communism or Soviet communism? Why?

5. What kind of future would you visualize—in business, in the labor movement, in politics—for the following men if they had migrated to the United States at the age of ten: Nikita Khrushchev? Leonid Brezhnev? Aleksii Kosygin?

Activities:

1. Write a brief biographical report comparing Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Kosygin as to (a) early background, (b) beliefs and attitudes, (c) methods used to gain and hold power, (d) policies pursued. End with an evaluation of each man.
2. Many thousands of Hungarian refugees fled to this country after the failure of the 1956 uprising. If possible, interview a refugee from Hungary or another Communist-dominated country on his reasons for coming to America. If you can, use a tape recorder for all or part of your interview, and report to the class.
3. Prepare a report for delivery to the class on further developments in the "de-Stalinization" movement. Include in your report the schism it has brought about among Communist nations, and speculate about the possible consequences of this schism.
4. Many excellent books have been written by the participants in the events described in Chapter 4, or by eyewitnesses to these events: military figures, statesmen and politicians, reporters and commentators. Utilizing the library card catalogue, prepare a book list of such works.



RUSSIAN WORKER

5 The Reality:

Life Under Communism

Wherever Communism has been imposed, the individual has become secondary to the state. Yet his life goes on, and the manner in which he lives it varies enormously depending on where he is. Since it is the place in which most of the patterns of Communist life originated, the Soviet Union is considered first in this chapter. This discussion is followed by a review of conditions in Red China and, finally, in the European Communist states.

Living in the U.S.S.R. Today

The Soviet Union's population of 232 million inhabits a "nation of nations." There are fifteen republics in the union and some 180 ethnically distinct peoples, speaking more than 120 different tongues. The tremendous stage on which communism has unfolded (8,650,000 square miles) is almost as large as the United States, China, and India *combined*.

It is a northern land: Fifty of its major cities lie farther to the north than Edmonton in Canada; Moscow is at the same latitude as Labrador; Leningrad is at the latitude of the southern tip of Greenland. In some northern sections, the sun never sets during the "white nights" of summer. This vast country spans eleven time zones. When clocks strike midnight in Leningrad, it is ten in the morning in the easternmost reaches of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. boasts the world's longest train ride—about 6,000 miles from Leningrad to Vladivostok on the Trans-Siberian Railway, or roughly twice the distance of a transatlantic crossing.

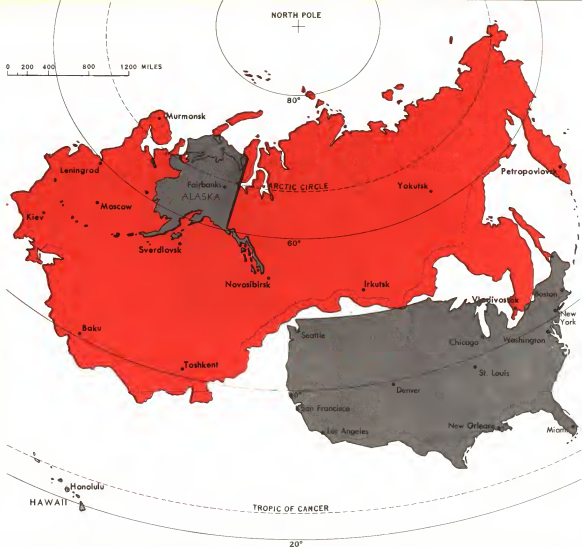
Once the Ural Mountains are left behind, most of this tremendous distance across the U.S.S.R. is a flat, unrelieved saucer circled by a rim of rocks, a vast plain stretching uninterrupted for thousands of miles across Eurasia. Through it flow four mighty rivers and thousands of lesser rivers and streams.

More than any other single thing, the winter dominates the lives of the Russians. Armies of labor are used in fighting snow and ice; vast amounts of effort and thought are expended by everyone just to keep warm.

The Eternal Repressions. Colder than the Russian winter, and thawing at a glacier's pace, is the climate of freedom. No matter how much the Soviet Union achieves in industry or in science, in human terms its policies of repressing the individual seem to remain eternally in force. Among Lenin's first acts was the suppression of all opposition newspapers. The U.S.S.R. still has only a one-party press, and no point of view opposing the government is allowed expression. Radio and television, too, are state-controlled and blare forth only what the party dictates. Education, though it sets exacting standards of excellence that the West can respect, is saturated with propaganda. Unions have no power to strike. Until recently workers were not even allowed to change their jobs without permission. Religion is tolerated in the Soviet Union, but no youth who wants to rise in the Soviet hierarchy of management, science, or any other field dares openly to proclaim his faith. Elections are held, but there is only one slate of candidates from only one party.

The Younger Generation. Since Joseph Stalin's tyranny ended in March 1953, the cruder kinds of terror have gone. To most Russians today, Stalinism is little more than a bad childhood memory. The young have not been broken by the fear that haunts their fathers or been infected with the blind faith that guided some of their Bolshevik grandfathers.

The word this generation seems to use more than any other is *truth*. They want to know, first and above all, what is really "true" about what is going on in the world. Somehow they can sense when official stories distort the truth. For example, university students simply refused to believe the official charges that the Hungarian



WORLD'S LARGEST NATION, the Soviet Union (red) is over twice the size of the U.S. (The map shows both countries in their proper latitudes.) The U.S.S.R. is some

8,650,000 square miles in area, and over 6,000 miles in width from Leningrad to Vladivostok on the Pacific. To cross this immense land by train takes almost 10 days.

revolution was started by "fascists" and "reactionaries." When lecturers gave them this explanation, they shuffled their feet or rustled papers to show their disbelief.

Young Russians are extravagant followers of Western fads and customs. At first the Kremlin resisted this tendency toward "bourgeois" tastes in its youth, but finally was forced to yield to it. Western broadcasts are listened to without hindrance. Western movies are preferred. Ian Fleming and J. D. Salinger are popular reading, and the favorite records of American teen-agers enjoy wide sales.

In Moscow nowadays many teen-agers gather in newly opened jukebox cafes. They hear young musicians in tight pants with long

hair playing the latest jazz arrangements adapted from the Voice of America and British Broadcasting Company programs. They dance the same dances popular with their counterparts in the West.

The Russian teen-agers, like the American, have a language of their own, mystifying to their elders. *Newsweek* magazine recently reported that they refer to their parents as *predki* (ancestors); an apartment is a *khata* (hut), and anything good is *zhelezno* (iron).

Western fashions are all the rage. Blue jeans and other garments demanded by the young are now being produced in Russian factories. At Moscow's swimming pools, old fashioned swimsuits have yielded to two-piece costumes for girls. And girls start using make-up early and sport stylish hairdos. In the early days of the Revolution, women were frowned on if they wasted time beautifying themselves, but now they spend hours shopping for just the right hat or dress and sitting in the ever increasing number of beauty parlors. Women in Russia make up almost half the work force, but they are now expected to be well-groomed as well as useful. And the girls start young. As one of them said: "The boys must be taught that Soviet girls are not simply boys dressed in skirts."

Of course, life among the teen-agers isn't all just good clean fun. There are the problems of the increasing use of alcohol and drugs and a certain amount of rowdiness; there was even a "rumble" in the middle of Red Square in the summer of 1965. Soviet officials will say little about juvenile delinquency, but the fact that there is a ten o'clock curfew in Moscow for unaccompanied youths under sixteen is proof enough that it exists. And in a speech opening the fifteenth Congress of the *Komsomol*, the Communist Youth League, on May 17, 1966, party chief Brezhnev assailed "parasitic and undisciplined" young people indifferent to Marxist ideals.

Loyalty to Communism. But the delinquent and the rowdy are undoubtedly the exceptions among Soviet youth. Most are serious. More and more they listen to official propaganda and slogans with cynicism, yet most remain loyal to communism as the only political system they know. They startle Westerners by criticizing the regime in one breath, then announcing in the next that under communism the U.S.S.R. will "outproduce" America. And most of the young people are hardworking. Indeed, they have little chance to be anything else.

In the first place, organizations like the *Komsomol* take up a great deal of time, and if a young person has ambitions for leadership or material advancement, membership in the *Komsomol* is essential. For it is from this youth organization that the future members of the Communist party are drawn. In the country of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" it is not enough to be merely a member of the proletariat, which now presumably includes all 232 million citizens of the Soviet Union. It is from the 12 million who are permitted to



A RUSSIAN "FIRST"
IN SPACE

Soviet emphasis on science in education produced an early lead over the U.S. in space exploration. Here Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman to orbit the earth, is being decorated by Leonid Brezhnev, Valery Bykovsky, another Russian cosmonaut, applauds.

be members of the party—less than 5 percent of the population—that the leaders who run the dictatorship are chosen. And in the party rests control over most other avenues for advancement.

The road to party membership is not easy. When they are seven years of age, most Russian children are signed up for their earliest organization, the *Oktobrists*. Here begins, along with organized play, the teaching of the principles of Marx and Lenin as now interpreted by the latest disciples in the Kremlin. At the age of ten, the boy or girl may graduate into the Pioneer Youth, and at fourteen they are eligible for the Komsomol. This huge organization now has a membership that includes about half of all the people in the Soviet Union between the ages of fourteen and twenty-eight. It serves not only for political training but also as a sponsor of social events, and, working closely with the universities, it opens the way for higher education and material advancement.

The Heavily Burdened Student. In addition to these youth activities sponsored by the party, the Soviet schools require hard work. All education in the Soviet Union is centrally controlled by the state, and education is free. Most of those who are bright enough to go on to college or higher technical training receive scholarships paid for by the state.

The work is so hard that for years prominent Soviet medical authorities have feared that the health of the youth might be endangered. In the eighth to tenth grades, for example, a student spends five to six hours daily in the classroom and three-and-a-half to four hours on homework. Two days a week he must devote two to three more hours a day to industrial training, frequently in a factory.

The subject matter is exacting. All Russian students who are graduated from high school have studied physics for six years, chemistry for five years, biology for five years, and astronomy for one.

In recent years there have been some changes in the educational system. In 1965, secondary schooling was cut from eleven years to ten, and students were allowed considerably more option in choosing courses for themselves. Of course, as we have seen, there are basic courses for all, but the entire curriculum is no longer prescribed by the state. It is interesting to note that one half of all high school students in Russia choose English as a language to study.

During the Khrushchev regime, 80 percent of openings for higher education were reserved for those who had spent two years working in agriculture or industry. This has now been considerably relaxed and more students are allowed to go directly from secondary schools into the colleges. But since the majority, of boys at least, have to undergo two years of military training, the average age of college graduates is still considerably higher than in most Western countries.

Soviet Science. Priority in college openings is given to students in such fields as science, mathematics, and engineering. The world's

scientists have great respect for the high place that the U.S.S.R. has given science. A scientific career has attracted many of the brightest youngsters in the country. For one reason, they are less apt to encounter political difficulties in that field than in the social sciences, where Stalin demanded total conformity to Communist ideas. Science became a sort of refuge for inquiring minds.

Soviet scientists and technicians have proved themselves extremely capable in the area of applied research. When they tackled the problem of the atomic bomb they solved it very quickly, and the sudden Soviet ascendance in space rocketry in 1957 gave proof of the occasional superiority of a completely state-dominated system when it decides to apply huge resources and priority to a given problem.

Nevertheless, communism does not seem to stimulate new ideas in pure—as opposed to applied—research among scientists. Since 1917, only seven Russians have won the Nobel Prize in Science. During the same time, sixty-four scientists in the United States have won Nobel prizes in that field.

Communist "Morality." Both in the schools and in such party-sponsored groups as the Komsomol, the young are indoctrinated with Communist values. Atheism is taught and teachers-in-training and students of philosophy must complete specific studies in the historical background and theories of atheism. This does not mean that every Soviet citizen is an atheist. Far from it. In recent years there has been evidence that, despite all the state can do to discourage it, there is an increasing interest in religion, especially in the rural areas.

But since communism itself rejects religion, it must teach its youth moral values on some other basis, and this often takes the form of the supreme importance of loyalty to the state. A child should respect his father and mother, say the Communists, but a statue stands in Moscow in honor of eleven-year-old Pavlik Morosov, whose father was executed after young Pavlik denounced him as a hoarder of grain. The child should respect and obey his teacher, say the Communists, but should inform on her if she is tolerant toward an expression of religious views.

The youth organizations also advocate atheism and try to foster moral values without religion. At one university in 1966, for example, a Komsomol public meeting was called to decide whether a member had acted honorably in switching girl friends.

Tolya's Summer "Vacation." As an example of how the state—and party—impose upon the "free" time of Russian youths, here is a recent experience of a high school graduate named Tolya. He went off to spend the summer with his grandparents in the countryside west of Moscow, looking forward to swimming and fishing. Toward the end of July an uninvited visitor, a youth about two years



THE PERSECUTION OF A TRUE PATRIOT

Boris Pasternak won the Nobel Prize in 1958 for his gripping novel *Doctor Zhivago*. Although Soviet editors had rejected the book, it was printed abroad, earning world praise but Kremlin denunciation. Actually, the novel spoke Pasternak's love for his country, a love so strong that he refused to leave even when Khrushchev asked him to go. Pasternak died in 1960, a true patriot whose glory will far outlast official Moscow's displeasure.

older than Tolya, came to see him. What he had to tell Tolya sounded like *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the youth newspaper: "It is the duty of every patriotic Soviet citizen and Komsomol member to do his part in the effort to boost food production. Will you join our volunteer brigade to help neighboring collective farms with the harvest?"

Tolya said he had worked hard all year and had only a few vacation weeks left before facing up to tougher studies in college. "Besides," he said, "I keep hearing farmers say the brigades are more of a hindrance than a help."

The other youth furrowed his brow. "Of course, it's all up to you, comrade. Think it over and let us know at the District Komsomol Committee. We got your name from a list sent us by the Moscow Committee."

Tolya's peace of mind was shattered. That night, instead of sleeping, he turned over and over in his mind the possible consequences of his refusal. Perhaps a letter describing his uncooperative attitude had already been sent off that afternoon to the Moscow Committee. Once something derogatory of that sort was put in writing and became a part of one's dossier, or "characteristic," as it is called, it could become a kind of curse, turning up at intervals throughout the years to cause its victim's repeated undoing.

Early in the morning, Tolya made his way to the nearby village where the local party and Komsomol organizations had their offices. The front of the one-story frame building was bedecked with red bunting inscribed with slogans telling how much wheat, how much fodder, how many potatoes this district was going to deliver to the state. Inside, Tolya's visitor of the previous day gave him a form to sign and shook his hand. "I felt sure of your decision, so I'd already included your name on the list," he said. "Report back here at 9:00 A.M. tomorrow with your gear."

And that was the end of Tolya's summer holiday.

Industrial Growth. During the Khrushchev era the Soviet economy went through seven major reorganizations. There is no question that it had made great strides. Between 1950 and 1960 the Soviet Union more than doubled industrial production and tripled electric power production. But in more recent years, the tremendous growth rate that had marked Soviet industrialization has begun to slacken. From an average of about 7 percent, the annual economic growth rate by 1965 had fallen to 2.5 percent, less than that of the United States.

Numerous inefficiencies and bottlenecks due to rigid bureaucratic control were at least partly to blame. Before he was ousted, Khrushchev had initiated reforms to try to overcome this. His successors moved along the same lines even more swiftly.

On October 20, 1964, less than a week after Khrushchev's down-



THE NEW GENERATION includes swaggering teenagers who try to mimic Western styles. Russian youth is skeptical of the heroism and self-sacrifice that the state ex-

pects of its citizens. Party boss Brezhnev has criticized as "parasitic and undisciplined" young people who develop new ideas and stray from Marxist ideals.

fall, the new regime announced a rapid expansion of previous meager experiments in a partly supply-demand and profit-motivated economy. Specifically, it said that one third of all shoe and clothing factories in the Soviet Union would now be freed from rigid government production quotas set by state planners. Instead, local managers would be allowed to set production and prices on the basis of orders from retail stores, and managers and workers would receive bonuses on the basis of how well their goods sold to the public, rather than on how well they met government quotas.

And this was just the beginning. Reforms along these lines, as we shall see, did not advance as rapidly as they did in some of the satellite countries, but by 1966 *The New York Times* reported that local management and profit-sharing devices were being spread to an ever widening segment of the Soviet economy. And in a speech on April 5, 1966, Premier Kosygin said that by 1967 "enterprises employing nearly one third of the industrial labor force will be under reform procedures."

But how much was all this going to help the average Russian? He was demanding more consumer goods, especially things longed for

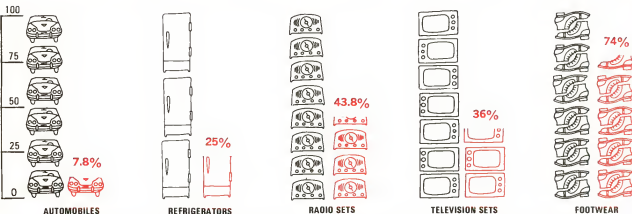
but out of the reach of most—refrigerators, television sets, automobiles. Belatedly, the new regime speeded up steps along this line too.

On March 28, 1966, it was announced that a market research organization was being set up specifically to study consumer demands and ways to meet them. Since one obvious demand was for automobiles—in Russia there is 1 car for every 260 people, compared to 1 for every 3 in the United States—there followed an announcement that the Soviet government had arranged for the Fiat automobile firm of Italy to build an \$800-million plant in Russia to produce automobiles.

Progress was being made, but there were still more promises than deliveries. In a speech on April 5, 1966, Kosygin declared there were going to be not only more consumer goods but higher wages, lower prices, a reduced work week, and fewer taxes as well. No Western demagogue could promise more than that.

Despite the slackening of economic controls and the promise of more goods, the famous system of *blat* still survives, both for producers and for consumers. The word means, roughly, “pull” or “influence.” The saying used to go that “*blat* is higher than Stalin,” meaning that any law or regulation can be circumvented, provided one has the right contacts. At first it was the practice of many factory managers to pay an illegal *tolkach*, or “pusher,” who, by virtue of the proper friendships in high places, could see to it that the harried producer got his raw materials on time so as to meet the government quotas. More recently the system has been expanded to include ordi-

U.S. and Soviet Production Compared: U.S.S.R. Output (Red) Is Shown as



IN CONSUMER GOODS, as this chart of 1964 production shows, the U.S. ranks far ahead of the Soviet Union. The Russians concentrate on turning out military equip-

ment or machinery for heavy industry rather than autos, radios, and TV sets. And even Russians complain about the poor quality of consumer goods that are available.

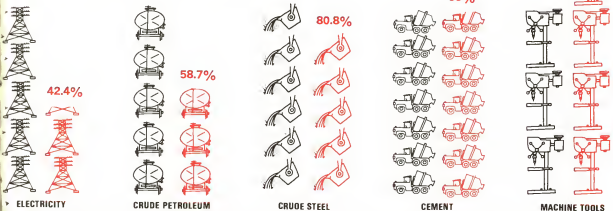
nary workers who find that, for a bottle of vodka or perhaps a little cash, they can find a "friend of a friend" who is able to get them some desired item the storekeeper says he does not have. In essence, it is simply the Soviet peacetime version of the all-too-familiar wartime practice of the "black market." But all this is illegal in Russia, and when discovered, these economic crimes are severely punished, in the past sometimes even with the death sentence.

The Life of an Auto Worker. In the Soviet Union, everyone works for the state. It is illegal for any private citizen to employ anyone to produce a commodity for sale. Whether he works in a factory or on a collective farm, the state—in other words, the Communist party—is the worker's boss. What this means is illustrated by the life of a factory worker named Vasily, who worked for many years for the Likhachev Automobile Works outside Moscow.

Likhachev is an immense industrial complex that at one time employed 20,000 workers (20 percent of them women) at an average wage of about \$105 a month, which is higher than that paid by the average Russian factory. Likhachev makes not only trucks and buses but bicycles and electric refrigerators as well.

The plant is almost a self-contained city. Around it rise blocks of tall new apartment houses for the workers. The factory has its own schools. A worker born in Likhachev could go from kindergarten all the way through an engineering institute without leaving the area. The factory also provides theater, music, motion pictures, lectures, sports, and dances. There are twenty restaurants, with meals priced

a Percentage of U.S. Output (Black)



IN PRODUCER GOODS, the Soviet Union is emphasizing electric power (now expanding at a rate of 11.3 percent a year) and heavy industry. This is reflected in the speed

with which the Russians are approaching U.S. levels in petroleum, steel, and cement. In the production of machine tools, the U.S.S.R. has already surpassed the U.S.



TRANSPORTATION FOR THE FAVORED FEW

The assembly line in a modern Soviet automobile factory. Though Soviet cars are small and austere as compared with most American cars, very few Russians can afford to buy them. To increase production and lower the prices, the Soviet government is now trying to persuade foreign manufacturers to build automobile plants in Russia.

at only a fourth to a third of the cost elsewhere. There are medical and dental clinics that provide free services for workers and their families. The housing shortage is acute, but new apartments equipped with gas and electricity are being built constantly. The apartments range from one to three rooms and rents average 5 to 6 percent of a worker's wages. Workers have to make their own minor household repairs and do their own painting.

The factory has a 3,000-acre farm that produces most of the meat, dairy foods, and vegetables consumed by the workers. Likhachev operates a resort on the Baltic Sea for its workers and a rest house in the village of Vaskino in Moscow Province. But so few workers own automobiles that the auto factory has no need for a parking lot.

The Autoless Auto Workers. Though the wages are considered good, very few men can support a family on their pay alone, so wives have to work as well as husbands. Nurseries and kindergartens are maintained to make it easier for mothers to work.

Vasily toiled here a quarter century. Although he was intelligent and conscientious, he had from the beginning deliberately shunned advancement, including a chance to enter an engineering school and qualify for a degree. The more important one's job, he had learned, the greater the risk. In the purges of the 1930's the casualty rate was greatest for those at the highest levels.

However, Vasily's proficiency on the job had carried him ahead at a steady rate. During the war, when the Nazis threatened Moscow, he was evacuated beyond the Urals, along with most of the equipment and personnel of the plant. In a few months the workers were producing scout cars and other vehicles in a new plant deep in the hinterland.

His wife followed with their two children, but Vasily's mother stayed on in their one-room flat in Moscow. It was lucky she did, for she kept the room and its contents intact; others, who had left their rooms locked but unattended, came back to find the locks broken and the contents plundered; occasionally, strangers were occupying the premises. Vasily's family had living quarters to come back to after the war.

Vasily sometimes earned as much as 250 rubles a month (about \$275) including bonuses and overtime, a very high figure for most skilled workers. He bought a combination television, radio, and record-player console at GUM, the big Moscow department store, though his family of five were still living in two small rooms.

Housing was the only major source of annoyance for Vasily and his wife. She urged him to enter their names for a unit in one of the new blocks of apartments that had been going up since the 1950's. He did so, and although they had to wait a year and a half, one day they were notified that they could move into a new three-room apartment—a rare luxury in Moscow.

The Most Persistent Shortage. Thousands of others are not so lucky as Vasily. Of all the shortages that the Soviet people have endured in the half century of communism, the most persistent—and the most annoying—is that of housing. In 1961, when Yuri Gagarin became the first man to orbit the globe he was awarded the privilege of moving out of a two-room apartment into a four-room one. “Gagarin had to go around the world to get another room,” sighed his envious admirers.

A tremendous number of new apartments are being built in the Soviet Union, but the quality of the construction often leaves much to be desired. Only a few years after they were occupied, many of the new Moscow apartments began to crack and crumble.

The Upper Class. Communism was supposed to create a “classless society,” but it has not. The prominent figures of Soviet society are not the party heads, who live apart from the rest of the people, but cultural and professional people: actors, writers, musicians, dancers, journalists, artists, architects, professors, scientists, engineers, and doctors.

A small number of extremely successful artists may earn as much as \$2,200 in a very exceptional month. Scientists may regularly make as much as \$1,500 a month, or more. Next come professors and managers, earning from \$440 to \$1,100 a month.

These people obviously live better than the proletariat, but they must constantly watch their step. Along with other relaxations, a sort of cultural and intellectual thaw set in after Stalin's death. His successors, ever since, have been struggling to keep it from getting out of hand.

Artists and writers who stray far from the Communist line incur official displeasure and sometimes go to jail. The great novel by Boris Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, had to be published abroad, in Italy. And when he was awarded the Nobel prize for it in 1958, there was so much official hostility at home that Pasternak felt compelled to refuse it. Yet to Western readers the book seemed only mildly critical of the Soviet system.

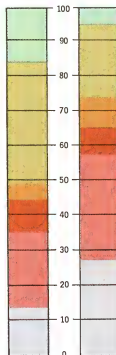
There was no question of hostility toward the only other Russian Communist writer to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature, Mikhail Sholokhov, winner in 1965. In that case the prize was awarded for earlier novels, which had tended to glorify the revolutionary struggle.

There have been ups and downs in the relations between the Soviet government and its artists and writers. Khrushchev was constantly warring with painters and poets who strayed from tradition. Yet no action was taken against Alexander Solzhenitsyn when, in 1963, he published the novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, a beautifully written and truly hair-raising account of life in a Russian slave labor camp back in Stalin's time.

There are indications now that the new Soviet leadership may

**COMPARATIVE
COMPOSITION
OF CAPITAL
INVESTMENT
(proportions of total)**

U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.
1950-1964	1950-1963



AGRICULTURE
MINING
MANUFACTURING
CONSTRUCTION
UTILITIES
TRANSPORTATION
COMMUNICATION
HOUSING
OTHER

not be even as tolerant as Khrushchev was toward intellectual criticism. In 1965 two writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, published articles abroad that the Communists deemed critical. The writers were mercilessly attacked in the Soviet press, and when brought to trial in this atmosphere, in February 1966, both were given stiff prison sentences.

There were outcries from intellectuals everywhere against this, muffled in Russia but loud and clear elsewhere, yet there was no backing down. An official reply to the world's criticism came in Brezhnev's speech to the twenty-third Party Congress, March 29, 1966, when he assailed "hack artists who, instead of helping the people, specialize in smearing our system and slandering our heroic people." In other words: Authors beware.

The Chronic Farm Crisis. So far we have been talking mainly of industrial workers and others who live in the cities of the Soviet Union. This represents just a little more than half the people in this vast land. Forty-seven percent of the working population still lives and toils on the farms, and in many places the lot of these peasants seems to have changed little since the days of the elder Tolstoy. Living conditions have undoubtedly improved for the city dweller, but progress in the rural areas has been woefully slow. Even as late as mid-1966, fully one third of the farms in the Soviet Union still had no electricity, and secondary education, compulsory in the cities, will not reach the rural areas until 1970 at the earliest. Children still must help work the farms.

In the land dedicated to the industrial proletariat, communism's leaders traditionally have been at odds with the peasants. Lenin once illustrated a talk by grabbing his own throat and saying: "Either we choke the peasants or they choke us." Stalin told Winston Churchill in one of their wartime conversations that the forcible collectivization of the farms was a harsher test for him than the war itself.

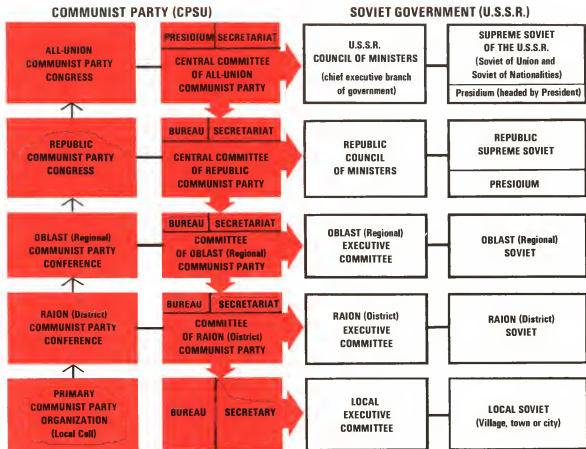
The truth is that farm collectivization never worked the way the collectivizers hoped, and communism's greatest single failure has been a chronic inability to meet the goals set for its farm programs. Through all the years of collectivization and farm failures, one telling fact stood out. The peasants who were allowed to maintain small private plots and to keep a cow and a few other animals produced twice as much per acre on their private plots as the collective farms produced.

In spite of the fact that he spent more time and effort on agriculture than on any other single problem, Khrushchev was slow in drawing the obvious lesson from this. It was not until shortly before his ouster that he realized private production might help solve his problem. Only then did he begin to allow more and more farmers to produce on their own. Coupled with this, instead of plowing up

more virgin lands, he began adopting the American method of intensive cultivation with chemical fertilizers.

His successors have speeded up both programs—more intensive farming and more independent farming—but there is still a long way to go. According to figures recently released by the United States Secretary of Agriculture, one American farm worker feeds thirty-one people, while one Russian farm worker feeds fewer than six.

First Secretary of Central Committee Member of Presidium	Chairman of Council of Ministers or Premier
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THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S IRON RULE of the U.S.S.R. is shown in this schematic chart. Red arrows indicate how the party organization dominates Soviet organs of

government at every level. In theory the party chooses its leader, as indicated by black arrows. Actually both the party and the government are controlled from the top.

And the reforms have led to other problems. Owing partly to bad weather and partly to the fact that, once freed from restraint, many farmers started growing other crops, Russia is again suffering a grain shortage. In the summer of 1966 she contracted to buy three million tons of grain a year for three years from Canada at a price of some \$800 million. At the same time, on July 1, 1966, the Soviet government put into effect a guaranteed monthly wage for collective farmers, which it hopes will encourage more of them to remain where they are and will be a start toward wiping out the differential in living standards between the city and the farm.

Soviet Exploitation of Workers. What communism has achieved in the Soviet Union has perhaps best been summed up by philosopher Sidney Hook in these words: "Almost from the very beginning, the Communist rulers had absolute power to deny any peasant or worker access to farm or factory, to decide what should be spent and saved—and how—and to determine the conditions and rewards of work. . . . Under such a setup, workers can be and have been exploited more intensively, i.e., more 'surplus value' has been sweated out of them, than under any other form of legal ownership since the early days of the Industrial Revolution."

The Communist rulers have never hesitated to shed crocodile tears over the "plight" of workingmen in capitalist countries. But it is safe to say that no capitalist employer in a Western nation would dare to impose any of the restrictions on labor that in the Soviet Union—the "workers' state"—are accepted as a matter of course.

Study, Work and Play under Communism

Students in a physiology laboratory (*right*) at the Tadzhik Academy of Science testify to the Soviet Union's concentration on universal education, and its special emphasis on the training of scientists. In the 16 pages that follow are other close-ups in color of life among the people—now numbering one third of the world's population—who live under Communism. The photographs tell a story of intense competition with the West at every level. Under the constantly reiterated slogan of overtaking and surpassing America, the U.S.S.R. is utilizing huge hydroelectric plants, pouring out fiery rivers of molten steel, breaking the soil of the "virgin lands" across the Urals and toughening the muscles of whole populations through mass sports.



Electricity and Steel—Twin Supports of the Soviet Economy



A MIGHTY POWER SOURCE, the impressive building enclosing the turbines of the Kuibyshev hydroelectric station, one of the world's largest, dwarfs a throng at the dedication ceremony in 1958. The Soviet Union gives

priority to power generation and in 1964 succeeded in raising its production of power to a total of 459 billion kilowatt-hours. The United States power production for the same year came to more than double that figure.



A GOLDEN SHOWER of liquefied steel (*right*) illuminates a mill in Georgia. In 1964 the U.S.S.R. produced 80 million, the U.S. 99 million, metric tons of steel.





HARVESTING GRAIN, a woman uses old-fashioned methods on a farm near Alma-Ata. It takes nearly 18 percent of the population to raise enough food in Russia; in the U.S., about 6.4 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture.

SHOPPING FOR MEAT, housewives wait patiently outside a butcher shop in Tashkent. Meat is short in the U.S.S.R. and has always been expensive. To make things worse, prices were raised 30 per cent in 1962.

The Vexing Problem of Food for a Multiplying Population





GATHERING FIREWOOD, a farmer drives a wagon over a snow-covered collective farm in the Ukraine. Geography adds to the U.S.S.R.'s agricultural dilemma. Much

of the land lies north of the 50th parallel, where summers are short and the growing season so brief that only crops that mature rapidly can be grown successfully.



A Hard and Laborious Life in the Distant Lands of Vast Siberia



SCHOOLGIRLS do required farm labor (*left*) in remote Khabarovsk, near Red China. Students work for fixed times in farms or factories.

HOUSEWIVES dressed for warmth (*opposite*) tramp the sidewalks of Yakutsk. Some Siberian areas have permanent frost only three feet down.

A FARM BOY drives a wagon (*below*) across a stream on a state farm near Irkutsk, Siberia. His village of 7,000 has five schools.



**РЕМОНТ
ЧАСОВ**
всех систем
ГАРАНТИЯ ОДИН ГОД



Modern Homes for the Favored Few at the Top of the Heap





A NEW APARTMENT HOUSE boasts bright balconies. Two rooms are considered very luxurious for four people and the apartments go first to the Soviet elite—intellectuals, artists, scientists and political leaders.

CONSTRUCTING A WALL, women masons work on a building (left) in Irkutsk. Russia's housing shortage is so acute that emphasis is on quantity rather than quality. As a result, many new buildings quickly deteriorate.

The Amazing Variety of Performing Arts in the U.S.S.R.



SOVIET FILMS range from adventure movies, like the one being made above, to fine drama. Russian directors, such as the great Sergei Eisenstein, pioneered in the development of documentary movies in the early 1920s.

THE BOLSHOI THEATER, Moscow's famed opera and ballet house (*opposite*), maintains a high level of performance and is regularly sold out. But in the "workers' state," visitors and Soviet elite get the best seats.



Center of World Communism

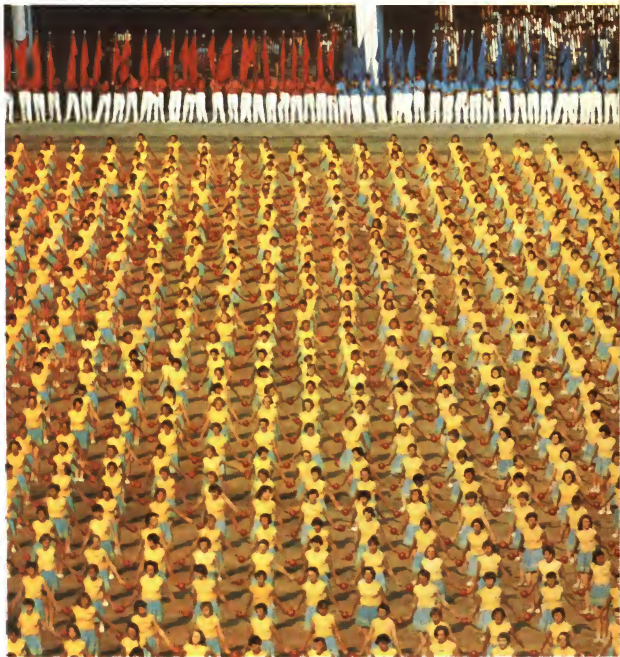
Fireworks and searchlights silhouette the star-tipped towers of the Kremlin during a jubilant Moscow celebration. Ancient fortress of the Tsars, this is now the capital of world Communism. Gleaming in the distance are the onion-shaped domes of St. Basil's Cathedral, an ancient structure looking out on Red Square.







Entire Nations Regimented for Totalitarian Displays



A SNAPPY PARADE enters a Leipzig stadium (*opposite*) in East Germany. The country has boasted it has 1.3 million men, women and children organized for sport.

A MASS DEMONSTRATION by platoons of girl athletes (*above*) fills a vast Prague stadium. At this eight-day sports spectacle more than 700,000 athletes performed.



A Future of Hunger

Drably dressed Chinese jam a street in Shanghai. Communist China now has a population approaching 700 million and will face the problem of feeding one billion within 20 years or less. But even now, millions are underfed.

Life in Communist China

In spite of all the repression and subjugation of the individual to the will of the state in the U.S.S.R., the Soviet people are free as the wind compared with the Chinese.

The few impartial observers who have been permitted to view Red China in recent years agree that the Communist leadership has now made some progress in combating China's old problem of recurrent famine. It has ended many degrading feudal customs, such as concubinage and the sale of child brides; it has made some measure of industrial progress; and it has exploded nuclear devices. But all of this has come at an appalling cost: the most regimented and brain-washed citizenry in the world.

Far from allowing even the partial relaxation of rigid state controls that is taking place in most other Communist countries, the Chinese dictatorship in 1966 ruthlessly purged some of its ablest officials and intellectuals who even hinted at more liberal policies. This was not the first time dissent was stifled. While the Communists have governed Russia for almost half a century, and so are taken for granted by most, the Chinese Communists have been in power only since 1949. They are still engaged in their "class struggle," and in addition to fearing "encirclement" from the outside, they ruthlessly crush the slightest deviation from conformity among their own people inside the country.

Mao's "Great Leap." For a brief period in 1956 and 1957 Mao Tse-tung, the top Chinese Communist, seemed to go through a "liberal" Communist phase. He announced that in Communist China there was room for "a hundred flowers to bloom" and invited everyone to throw his ideas into the collective pot, no matter how unusual they might seem. Hundreds of intellectuals, who had been chafing under the rigors of the dictatorship, obliged; and many ideas did indeed bloom. But Mao suddenly reversed himself and arrested all those whose ideas seemed dangerous. Although this may not have been the original intention, the net result was that potential enemies of the regime trapped themselves by revealing their true thoughts and identities.

Then in 1958, Mao announced a "Great Leap Forward." Instead of passing through a "bourgeois" phase of capitalist development, Red China was to make the transition into ideal and complete communism in one jump. Furthermore, it would become overnight a modern industrialized nation.

To this end, Mao organized the entire population into a new enterprise based on "the communes." These were like nothing so much as anthills in which thousands of worker ants would toil endlessly, under the prodding of soldier ants, with no letup and with scant reward. Millions of peasants were crowded into hopelessly inadequate



**AUTHOR OF A
DISASTROUS PLAN**

Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung developed a grandiose scheme that he called the "Great Leap Forward." Intended to short-cut China's economic development and bring it to full communism within a few years, the plan was a disastrous failure.



CHINESE FARMERS WORK A COMMUNE FIELD. STARTED BY MAO IN 1958 AND NOW ABANDONED AS A

quarters and fed in communal kitchens. They were driven to the factories or roads or fields before dawn to work like convicts under the watchful eye of the "people's militia."

With one stroke of the pen, Mao launched the "tractorizing" of China's farms, apparently deliberately ignoring the fact that almost all Chinese farms are terraced hillsides or rice paddies where tractors cannot be used. He tried to "collectivize" a nation whose farmers have always been engaged principally in raising their own food on small family-held plots. This caused great disruption. In a few years the "communes" would basically alter ancient systems of landownership and family relationships among the peasantry.

To speed up China's new "iron age," Mao asked millions of families to build small, "beehive" blast furnaces in their own backyards and melt down metal scrap for "village steel." The result was a sudden increase in China's production of pig iron—but the "backyard" product was of such dubious quality that most of it proved useless.

The nation was called on to attain another goal: to exterminate flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows. Large posters appeared in every village, bearing the message "Swat the fly!" They showed young heroes of Chinese communism doing just that. Red China solemnly listed in its annual "production" achievements the total weight of all flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows killed.

The missionary spirit of the "Great Leap Forward" was encouraged when thousands of Soviet technicians came in to help China build and run the new industrial plants Khrushchev had promised to help finance for Mao. But the friendship between the two great Communist powers had already been strained by Khrushchev's attack on



FAILURE, THE COMMUNE SYSTEM INCREASED RATHER THAN LESSENED THE FOOD SHORTAGES IN CHINA.

Stalin. As the strain increased, the technical aid was curtailed and the Soviet technicians were called home.

The result of Mao's "Great Leap" was catastrophic. The blow came, moreover, as China underwent three successive years of drought, whose terrible effects were compounded by the man-made disasters of the communes and other disruptions of Chinese life. It is impossible to grasp the enormity of this catastrophe in terms of multitudes of people. Some idea of the tragedy can be gathered from the story of one woman who finally managed to reach freedom in Hong Kong with her five children in 1961; they had lived in Wuchang, 300 miles west of Shanghai.

A Story of Human Tragedy. "Just before we left," she told an American in Hong Kong, "our monthly rice ration was barely enough to last for three days per month. We had to supplement it by adding grass picked from the river embankment. We ate all sorts of things that even cattle wouldn't touch, such as tree bark. Whenever women got together the talk turned to 'location,' that is, the location of a place where edible grass could be found. My children often went out of Wuchang when too hungry and brought back some grass and asked me to boil it into gruel.

"I saw many people with pale, rubbery faces. There were others whose legs seemed inflated like toy balloons. Many suffered a particular pain in the back. No need to ask a doctor the reason. It was simply malnutrition.

"We got meat or fish only four times a year, on national holidays. Many fishermen were hauling lots of fish down the Yangtze at Wuchang. Once I asked one of them why we were unable to get fish. He



**A NEW SIGHT
IN CHINA**

This steel mill is in Shenyang, in northern China. It is one of China's new modern industrial establishments that serve as show-places for foreign visitors. Foreigners, of course, were never allowed to see the crude "beehive" blast furnaces in village backyards.

saw nobody else was in earshot and said, "The fish all go to big brothers." By big brothers he meant top Communist officials."

There has been considerable improvement since then, in the food situation at least. Faced with wholesale starvation of the people, the Chinese leadership tacitly admitted its failure and started buying grain in large amounts from non-Communist countries. At the same time it stepped up food production at home. In every school yard, children were set to work planting and tending vegetable gardens. Quotas for farmers were increased, and political commissars were assigned to see that the quotas were met. Most foods are still rationed in China, but supplies and allotments are larger.

The Aftermath of the "Great Leap." Since the disaster of the Great Leap Forward there has been progress in Chinese industrialization. Several major hydroelectric and irrigation projects are under way, and the explosion of five nuclear devices by 1967 indicated considerable industrial capacity.

But for the majority of the people, most consumer goods are still out of reach. A bicycle costs \$60 and a sewing machine \$55, while the average factory worker makes only \$20 a month and the average farmer makes a great deal less. Foreign visitors, who are proudly shown gleaming modern factories, at the same time see old men pushing carts and women and children trudging along the roads with heavy loads on their backs.

As in all Communist countries, the party in China controls the government and dominates the lives of the people. But only a little more than 2 percent of the population—some 17 million—are allowed to be members of the party. And the ultimate control is exercised at the top by a nineteen-man Politburo, headed by Mao Tse-tung.

Indoctrination—from Cradle to Grave. Indoctrination of the people starts almost in the cradle. Many working parents see their children only on their day off; the rest of the time the children are left in state-run boarding kindergartens. Visiting one of these in Canton in 1966, a correspondent for the Chicago Daily News Service, Mark Gayn, saw four-year-olds marching and singing:

"March forward.

Carry the rifle on our backs.

Attach the sword to our belt.

Learn to be a little Eighth-route army soldier.

Our highest inspiration

Is to kick out U.S. imperialism."

They also sang of their love for "Chairman Mao" and of "liberating" Formosa. Another song that the kindergarten children were taught ended with these words:

"Who do you hate most?

We hate U.S. imperialists

And reactionaries most."

The pressure of this propaganda, including the lessons in hatred, continue throughout the entire life of everyone in China. As the children get older they attend schools where political indoctrination permeates almost every subject. In addition they must join youth groups and are required to put in many hours attending political meetings and lectures—and this is carried on into adult life. Workers and farmers are also required to attend political lectures; all men between eighteen and thirty-five and all women between eighteen and thirty are required to join the militia.

Even after all this, there is still no escape. Huge pictures of the leaders, and slogans extolling China's brand of communism and breathing defiance at her enemies, are everywhere. And there are constant officially inspired "demonstrations" in which emotionally charged men and women shout their approval or disapproval of whatever the government at the moment wants them to approve or disapprove.

Conformity for All. The pressure for conformity is tremendous. Boys and girls, and even most men and women except for a few in the larger cities, dress alike. All wear the familiar baggy pants and short jackets. There is no public hankering after Western styles here, even by the few who are familiar with them. All art—paintings, books, the theater—all are used to further the aims of the state.

The 1966 purge, which eliminated a good many Communist officials, was also aimed at university professors, whom the press called "bourgeois scholars preparing for the return of capitalism." The procedure used against them was much the same everywhere. Students were inspired to hold protest demonstrations, demanding the ouster of the offending professor. The government would then bow to the "popular will" and the hapless instructor would simply sink into oblivion.

To say that dissent is not allowed in China is an understatement. The Communist leaders are preoccupied with trying to make sure there is no dissent even from future generations. That is why the "peaceful coexistence" line adopted by the Russians is so distasteful. It threatens to undermine the warlike ardor of the young, which the Chinese are determined to maintain.

In the spring of 1966, the United States offered to start a program of exchange visits by students and other intellectuals. The Chinese replied by accusing the United States of seeking a means to persuade young Chinese to accept a theory of "peaceful evolution." Nothing, they said scornfully, would weaken the "revolutionary resolve of our youth." Nevertheless, no risks were going to be taken. The American offer was spurned.

China is now governed by old men. The average age of the members of the Politburo is about sixty-five, and few Communist officials throughout the country are under forty. But the Chinese have a ca-



TURMOIL IN RED CHINA

By the end of 1966 the extreme reactionary policies of party leader Mao Tse-tung, as exemplified by the terroristic activities of the Red Guard (see page 158), had brought China to the verge of civil war. In this picture pro-Maoists demonstrate in the streets of Shanghai in January 1967. Large areas of the country, however, were apparently controlled by Mao's opponents, led by President Liu Shao-chi, and the regular army had been called out to put down the rebellion. Whoever triumphed in this great struggle for power, it seemed unlikely that China's attitude toward the rest of the world would change greatly.

capacity for longevity and a tradition of veneration for the old ways.

In the summer of 1966, even though Mao Tse-tung appeared to be failing in health and was making no public appearances, his iron will was manifest in the creation of a new organization called the Red Guards. Made up largely of high school and college students, the Red Guards vowed "to mercilessly destroy every hotbed of revisionism." Down the streets of Peking they rampaged, beating up any citizens found wearing Western-style clothing, forcing young girls to go home and wash out their Western hairdos, and demanding that store owners throw out modern cosmetics and replace them with harsh kitchen soap for facial care. Even the traffic regulations were changed. A green light became the signal for "stop," and a red light the signal for "go"—go forward with the Red revolution.

Even though there have been drastic signs of a desire for change among Mao's opponents, one would be foolish to predict much alteration in China's outlook in the foreseeable future.

Life in Communist Europe

Living conditions in the eight Communist nations of Europe vary widely, from the rock-hard dictatorship of Albania to the relative freedoms of Yugoslavia.

Internal changes have been steady in most of these nations, taking a spurt in the middle 1960's. The changes have differed in kind, but in all cases have included a relaxation of economic controls; greater freedom for local management decisions; less price fixing; increased production of consumer goods; and continually stepped-up trade with the West. Along with this, but more grudgingly, have come in

These Sad, Fear-Haunted People Come from Different Backgrounds, but They Have One



EAST GERMANY



HUNGARY

most cases greater individual freedom—of expression; of travel; of choice in education and employment. But nowhere has there been any movement toward meaningful political freedom—the freedom to dissent and to form an opposition.

The satellites have steadily become less subservient to their big neighbor to the east. All except Albania, the satellite of Red China, were shocked at the downfall of Khrushchev. The new Russian rulers, in fact, felt compelled to call hurried meetings to try to reassure the Eastern Communist leaders that this move had been justified. All, again except Albania, stand loyally by the Soviet Union in its dispute with Red China. And, at least partly in return for this, the satellites have been permitted more and more freedom to go their own way.

In general, their own way has been toward more rapid economic reforms than have taken place in the Soviet Union. The original tight controls helped to transform such countries as Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary from semifeudalism to semiindustrialism in a generation. But when applied to an already industrialized nation such as Czechoslovakia, they resulted in disaster.

Now there is a general relaxation, brought about by economic pressures and popular discontent. But some of the adjustments themselves have brought further hardships. In many cases state subsidies had kept down the cost of food, transportation, heat and electricity, and other essentials, especially for urban workers. City rents, for example, sometimes took only 1 percent of a worker's income. With the relaxation of controls these subsidies, too, were often curtailed. The effects were immediate. In Yugoslavia, for example, the cost of a three-room apartment that had been \$9 a month rose to

Thing in Common: All Are Fugitives from Communism.



\$20, and electric bills doubled. In Bulgaria rents rose 100 percent in July 1965, when subsidies were curtailed.

The following is a brief summary of conditions in each country.

Albania. Tiny Albania, along with huge Communist China, continues to be probably the most oppressive police state in the world. Its dictator, Enver Hoxha, has executed thousands of people to stifle even a semblance of dissent. Alone among the rulers of Eastern Europe, the Albanian Communists have refused any relaxation of their tight control over the country and people. Stalin is still glorified and his type of dictatorship still prevails. Albania openly sides with China in the great Communist schism. The most lavish welcome ever given a foreigner was accorded Chou En-lai when he visited Albania in 1964.

Only Albania, of the European states, hailed the downfall of Khrushchev. But, by 1965, the Albanian Press Agency was denouncing the new Russian leaders Brezhnev, Kosygin, and President Anastas Mikoyan as the "Khrushchev troika" for carrying on the policies of their predecessor. What the average Albanian may think of all this, if anything, isn't known. He isn't allowed to say.

Bulgaria. On January 1, 1966, *The New York Times* reported that Bulgaria was moving in its liberalization program more boldly than the Soviet Union, but not so boldly as most of the other European Communist countries.

This means that living conditions are getting a little easier, but slowly. The Communist regime, quick to de-Stalinize formally, has not been so quick about granting any significant measure of personal freedom. And while attractive apartment buildings are springing up throughout Sofia, they are still mostly for the favored few. The country is absorbed in its industrialization, which is proceeding rapidly. A labor shortage in 1964, especially in heavy industry, caused the government to issue a decree that no able-bodied man under forty could be hired for any job that could be filled by a woman.

Emphasis is placed on education, especially in new technical and vocational schools, where 254,000 pupils were enrolled in 1966. This represented about half of those who had completed the compulsory eight years of primary education. College enrollment is running to more than 17,000 a year, but students grumble at an arbitrary 15 percent of college openings that are reserved for the children of prominent Communists. The government, on the other hand, complains that students are not being indoctrinated with sufficient Communist fervor. It is also worried about the "nylon intelligentsia," young people who prefer Western music and books to those of the Communist world.

After years of isolation, Bulgaria is increasing its contacts with the outer world. Especially notable are the improved relations with three old enemies, its neighbors Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey. About



NEW HOMES FOR THOSE WHO CAN GET THEM

Modern housing developments like this one are changing the appearance of Sofia and many other Eastern European cities. But apartment prices remain high; it often takes special influence to get one; and the construction in many cases is shoddy.

100,000 Bulgarians traveled abroad in 1965, and trade with the West increases.

But discontent is still apparent. In April of 1965 a group of anti-government Communists, seeking further relaxation of controls, attempted a coup. This was put down, and later it was announced that five senior military officers and four civilians had been tried and sentenced to prison. The announcement said all had confessed taking part in the plot.

Czechoslovakia. The story of Czechoslovakia is certainly the saddest of all the stories of the satellite countries. Unlike the others, this nation of sturdy middle-class heritage had been a flourishing industrialized democracy until it came under Communist control. Then, for years, it was systematically exploited. While people in the other satellites, who never had much to begin with, may have experienced some small benefits under Communist rule, Czechoslovakia experienced only deprivation.

Its skilled workers, executives, teachers, tradesmen, doctors, lawyers, and engineers were the core of its democratic thought and pro-American sentiment. They were ruthlessly uprooted as "reactionaries." Many were forced to abandon their professions and work in factories or mines.

The country's famous industrial establishment was carefully preserved. In fact, industrial production trebled in the years after the Communist seizure of power, but not to the benefit of the Czechs. Czech-made clothes, automobiles, appliances, and other goods quickly appeared in Russian stores, for example, and readily sold for rubles. They were out of the reach of most Czechs, who could buy them only with dollars or other foreign currencies. And when the Soviets desired to give "aid" to Egypt, Iraq, and Cuba, it was Czech rifles, buses, locomotives, and other manufactured goods that they had in mind.

In short, Czechoslovakia became communism's "milk cow," but there is now evidence that the exploiters may have butchered the cow as well as milked it. Even after the rise of Khrushchev, the Czech dictator, Antonin Novotny, remained an arch-Stalinist and continued his rigid controls of the economy and the people. Indications that all was not well appeared in 1964, when it was noted that Czechoslovakian production was actually falling while that of the other satellites continued to rise. Some reforms were attempted, but they were too little and too late.

On December 22, 1965, the governing Czech Communist party confessed its failure. In a 19,000-word statement, announcing long-overdue reforms, the Czech rulers conceded that the tight bureaucratic controls had prevented essential changes and modernizations. They had kept production costs high, and kept Czech living standards below those of the West, and had neglected consumer de-

mands to such an extent that the workers had lost interest in producing anything.

The reason for this amazing confession of failure was an attempt to rally popular support for the proposed reforms. These were similar to those in other countries: more freedom for local plant managers, more use of the profit motive, and some semblance at least of a Western-style free market. But is it too late? The statement conceded that because of the delay it was now going to cost so much to rebuild the economy that expansion would be limited and slow.

A few days later, on January 1, 1966, in his New Year's message Novotny himself conceded things had not turned out as expected and said the economy had been a "money waster." He promised the people reforms but, perhaps like the lady who "doth protest too much," went out of his way to deny any movement toward a "capitalist" economy. Three days later the Czech party unanimously reelected Novotny as its head—so he, at least, kept his job.

East Germany. Another dramatic confession of Communist failure had come five years earlier, not with words on paper but with bricks on mortar. This was the Berlin wall, sealing off the people of East Germany from the West.

After the bloody suppression of the 1953 revolt in East Germany, the people apparently gave up trying to fight back. But at least they could flee. In the next eight years nearly two million people escaped to the West, most of them through free West Berlin. But on August 13, 1961, the Communists erected the Berlin wall to halt this mass exodus, and police guarded its accesses with machine guns. Now only those ready to risk their lives could make the break for freedom. Yet several thousand East Germans every year do just that, over or under the wall, in spite of the fact that many have been gunned down in the attempt.

Because there is such obvious discontent in East Germany, the regime there is perhaps the most oppressive of all the East European Communist countries except Albania. The extreme Stalinist system persisted in East Germany long after it had been relaxed elsewhere. It was not, in fact, until 1964 that Communist boss Walter Ulbricht started making any concessions at all. Then a gradual extension of some basic human rights was announced; some ten thousand prison inmates, including many political prisoners, were pardoned; and the East German regime began allowing its people to have visits through the wall from relatives in the West.

But unlike what happened in Czechoslovakia, the Communist rulers have managed to keep East Germany's industrial production climbing. The country has now surpassed Czechoslovakia and is the most productive of the satellites. This has been accompanied, however, by acute food shortages that have been alleviated only by aid from the Soviet Union.

Life is still bleak for the East Germans, especially when compared with the booming prosperity of their former fellow countrymen on the other side of the wall. And the wall is always there, a symbol of communism's weakness and inability to gain its way by anything short of force. And, far from removing this affront to its people, in May of 1966 the East German government began to build "little Berlin walls" in some other towns and villages along the border between East Germany and West Germany.

Hungary. When Khrushchev visited Hungary in April of 1964, he expounded the Soviet coexistence line, assailed the Chinese, and denounced those who, he said, "preferred revolution to goulash."

The Hungarians agreed with him. They, too, prefer goulash. Ever since their 1956 uprising was brutally put down by Soviet tanks, they have, in a sense, proceeded quietly to win that revolution. Their dictator, Janos Kadar, frankly conceded that the great majority of Hungarians are anti-Communists, and started making concessions. Today his country is one of the freest of the satellites and has one of the highest standards of living. In March of 1963 a general amnesty gave freedom to most political prisoners from the revolt. The courts have been transferred from the Interior Department, where the police function, to the Justice Department, and a thoroughgoing legal reform protects individual rights. Security police no longer rout people out in the dead of night. Hungarians are free to travel and welcome tourists including, in recent years, a good many Americans.

COMMUNIST GUARDS BAR AN ELDERLY COUPLE FROM THE FREEDOM THEY SEEK IN WEST BERLIN





**PRIVATE BUSINESS
DESPITE COMMUNISM**

A Warsaw shopper takes a closer look at a garment offered for sale in the Szezbek Square open market or *ciuchy*. Although almost anything from shoestrings to hot cabbage soup is on sale at the *ciuchy*, the real attraction is American clothing sent to Poland in gift packages. Recipients of clothes that do not fit can easily dispose of them at prices high enough to get other needed items, also in short supply.

Kadar has even allowed some non-Communists to hold important posts in his government.

But these concessions to individual rights were not accompanied in Hungary, as in most of the other countries, by much relaxing of economic controls. In 1965 Kadar did announce that more attention would be paid to consumer demands, but fully 85 percent of all prices in Hungary were still rigidly fixed by the state.

Through it all the Hungarians have been having their "goulash" economy. But now there are signs that it is in jeopardy. For the inevitable readjustments seem under way. The government has announced that some of the state subsidies, including the subsidy that helps the city worker pay for food, are being curtailed. And in his New Year's message in 1966, Kadar warned that "the real incomes of part of the families will be reduced." In other words, goulash is going to come higher.

Poland. Poland was the first satellite to achieve a measure of liberalization, starting reforms the others came to later. But it failed to follow up this progress.

After Poland won the right to its own brand of communism in the 1956 showdown with Khrushchev, party boss Gomulka and his planners instituted what Poles happily hailed as the "new freedoms." Greater freedom of expression was allowed and controls over the economy were relaxed. The collective farms were broken up, and Poland was the only satellite to fulfill its planned production in agriculture. Warsaw became the gayest capital in Eastern Europe. But not for long. Gomulka, forced to walk a tightrope to prevent another complete Russian take-over, clamped down on dissent, and the economic reforms were halted just as other satellites were moving ahead.

Even so, Gomulka remains relatively popular, and although there is a shortage of consumer goods, Poland's industrialization has moved ahead rapidly. Unlike most of the other satellites, Poland has a large labor supply and something of an unemployment problem.

But there is an anger and sense of hopelessness among the people over the stagnation and lack of recent progress in liberal reforms. Discontent shows itself in a number of ways.

For one thing, many Poles prefer their church to their government. Despite all the Communist regime can do to discourage it, church attendance is high and nuns and priests in clerical garb are common sights in Warsaw. The country's chief churchman, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, is greeted everywhere by immense crowds. On April 1, 1966, prior to the celebrations for the one-thousandth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Poland, the government felt compelled to send word to the pope that a visit by him to Poland would not be "opportune." The cardinal seemed to cause trouble enough.

In addition, there is definite friendliness toward the West. When

Attorney General Robert Kennedy visited Poland in 1964, he was greeted everywhere by crowds far larger than ever paid homage to any Communist leader. And the American ambassador and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Gronouski, have been cheered as they emerged from church in Warsaw.

Rumania. Rumania is now virtually an independent Communist country, almost as much so as Yugoslavia. In the beginning, Rumania was the most servile of the satellites. Her people, once among the gayest and best fed in Europe, sank into hunger and despair. Then, in 1963, the Rumanian Communist leaders decided to defy their Soviet masters.

They staged a successful revolt against the efforts of COMECON—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—to keep Rumania principally an agricultural breadbasket for the Communist bloc. Instead, Rumania started on an intensive industrialization program and turned to other countries for aid. When the Soviets were slow to help her with a big steel project, Rumania granted a \$42-million contract to a British-French group to build it. The Ploesti oil fields are a natural foundation for a petroleum-chemical industry, and Rumania built one such combine. German engineers put up a synthetic rubber plant, the British a \$22-million tire plant. Bucharest women are getting cheaper stockings from a new synthetic-fiber plant. And Rumania is now engaged jointly with Yugoslavia on a \$400-million power plant on the Danube.

Thus, Rumania has achieved the fastest economic growth of any nation in the Communist bloc, with a gross national product increasing by more than 10 percent a year. But, so far at least, this has meant little relaxation of economic controls, and the better life the people hope for is still beyond the reach of most. A mediocre suit costs \$75, eggs 20 cents each, ordinary beef \$1.50 a pound.

But the independence has brought changes. Streets, theaters, and schools that once had Russian names now have Rumanian names. Russian is no longer required in the schools, and in the universities many previously banned subjects, such as sociology, are now offered. Rumania is rightly proud of the fact that it has one of the highest ratios in the world of students engaged in higher learning.

And just to make sure her independence is understood, when the Russians sought in 1966 to strengthen the Warsaw Pact military alliance, Rumania alone of the members balked. Party chief Nicolae Ceausescu responded with a four-hour speech making clear Rumania wanted no part of any alliance except on terms of equality and complete independence.

Yugoslavia. To a Chinese, or to an Albanian next door, Yugoslavia must seem more capitalistic than communistic. It is, in fact, a forthright combination of public and private enterprise economies.

Yugoslav Communists, as in other countries, at first tried to na-



**AN OASIS
OF FREE TRADE**

These Rumanian farm women are selling vegetables they have grown. After fulfilling the quota demanded by the state, they are free to peddle any surplus at open-air stands. Communist states wink at the existence of free markets where people can buy—at exorbitant prices—the goods which the state stores somehow never have in sufficient quantity.

tionalize just about everything. But as early as 1952 they were ready to concede that this had been a mistake. Marshal Tito, pursuing his independent foreign policy, also took an independent domestic course. His economic planners began a gradual liberalization.

This relaxation of rigid controls proceeded slowly but steadily, and, thanks in large measure to help from Western countries, including the United States, Yugoslavia prospered and achieved rapid industrialization.

Then, in the 1960's, Yugoslavia began feeling some economic pinches. The response was an even greater relaxation of state controls. More small enterprises were allowed to operate on their own; more use was made of the profit incentive; more prices were fixed at the marketplace instead of in the back rooms of the economic planners. Yugoslavia became a hybrid economy, with both public and private sectors, even though the private one is still strictly limited.

In the private sector are producers whose "factories" have no more than three employees exclusive of the producer's family, peasants tilling less than twenty-five acres, small store or café owners, taxi drivers, salesmen, and other individual operators. These people are allowed to make what they can, and this has given rise to a host of private entrepreneurs who, if they are capable enough, can legally achieve incomes of several hundred dollars a month. The average worker in the public sector gets \$55 a month.

As in other countries, the recent economic reforms included curtailment of government subsidies, which sent living costs up and caused some grumbling among workers. However, Yugoslavia allows freedom of travel—some seven million foreigners visited the country in 1965—and many dissatisfied workers simply moved to Western Europe, where they easily found jobs in the prosperous democracies.

This relaxation of economic and travel restrictions has been accompanied by greater respect for individual rights and a greater measure of freedom of expression than in other Communist countries. But this is not to be confused with freedom as it is known in the West. The basic means of production are still tightly controlled, the government tolerates no effective opposition, and there have been no moves toward any significant political freedom.

As we look over conditions in these eight European countries under Communist governments, as when we compare Russia and China, the differences seem as important as the similarities. Communism, even in theory, is no longer the great, single, unifying idea its early polemicists envisioned. Nor in practice is it any longer the great monolithic power bloc it started out to be. Yugoslavia and Albania lie side by side, yet there is as much difference between Yugoslavia and Albania on the one hand as there is between Yugoslavia and the Western democracies on the other.

THE CHAPTER IN REVIEW

Understanding What You Have Read:

1. Describe the extent of communism today in terms of the countries under its domination; the number of people it rules; the size of the party.
2. Describe the Soviet Union as to area, population, languages, ethnic groups, topography, climate, and vegetation. What has been the influence of geographical factors upon Soviet farm production goals? How does winter influence the life of the average Russian?
3. Compare the political and social "climate" in the Soviet Union today with the Stalin era. In what ways does Russian youth reflect the Western influence? Despite its apparent cynicism, is Russian youth loyal to communism? Explain your answer.
4. Show the difference between classes in the Soviet "classless society" by describing the life of (a) a student; (b) a factory worker; (c) a leader of Soviet society; (d) a top party leader. Which groups make up the Soviet upper class?
5. Compare the life of a farm worker with that of a factory worker in the Soviet Union. Why has agriculture been such a problem for Soviet leaders? Discuss recent changes in Soviet farm policies.
6. Describe and compare with the American system the basic characteristics of Soviet education and youth activities, pointing out the similarities and differences. How is propaganda instilled in schoolchildren in China?
7. Describe the recent relaxations of economic controls and compare this trend in the Soviet Union, the European Communist countries, and China. Why do you think the Communist leaders have agreed to this relaxation? What was the effect of rigid controls on Hungary? on Czechoslovakia? Do you think the movement toward economic freedom may

be followed by more political freedom?

8. Briefly describe the structure of the official Soviet government and of the Communist party.
9. Compare life in the Communist-dominated countries described in Chapter 5 as to (a) methods used to impose Communist goals upon the people; (b) the degree of success in achieving these objectives; (c) living conditions in each country today.

Questions for Discussion:

1. What is the explanation for the fact that while the population of the Soviet Union is 232 million, only 12 million are Communist party members; that while the population of Red China is some 700 million, party membership numbers only about 17 million? For what reasons might party leaders want to keep membership limited?
2. In recent years, there has been a "thaw" in the cold war, at least in the exchange of scientists, musicians and performers, athletes, etc. Do you feel these exchanges accomplish any worthwhile purpose? Do you agree with those Americans who would sever all ties, cultural and otherwise, with the Soviet Union?
3. Do you feel that Soviet emphasis upon scientific education explains the impressive Russian scientific accomplishments? What is the explanation for the fact that the Soviet Union has made tremendous strides in scientific areas, while consumer goods are vastly inferior to ours and in short supply? Do you believe this will be a permanent condition under communism?
4. Do you think that economic troubles in Communist nations, such as food shortages in Red China, could cause revolutions resulting in the overthrow of communism in those nations? Explain your answer. Since the Communists have promised "to

bury" us, should we offer relief to a Communist nation in difficulty, as we did to Red China? Should we withdraw economic assistance from neutralist nations when they "do business" with the Communist bloc? What is the reasoning behind your opinion?

5. Many West Berliners felt that the West should have knocked down the wall when its construction was begun on August 13, 1961. Do you agree with this point of view? Do you believe Great Britain and France would have joined the United States in such an action? Many observers feel that the wall has "backfired" on its Communist builders. Do you agree with this point of view? Why or why not?

Activities:

1. After individual student research, set up a panel discussion comparing the merits and weaknesses of Soviet and American systems of education.
2. Deliver an oral report to the class in which you contrast the apparently idealistic principles contained in the Soviet Constitution with the way each principle is acted upon in the Soviet Union today.
3. Use a world outline map with an appropriate key to show the two Communist "mother" countries (the U.S.S.R. and China). Note the satellites which have an expressed allegiance to each "mother." With a third symbol or color, show those countries which seem to be "neutrals" within the area of the Communist world.
4. Prepare a list of important Soviet leaders on the Presidium; give as much background on each as you can find, using your library's resources.
5. Write a report on life in a Chinese commune, comparing it with Chinese peasant life as it was before 1949.



U.S. PEACE CORPSMAN

6 The Challenge:

What We Can Do

What are the wisest policies and plans to which prudent Americans should dedicate themselves to meet the challenge of communism? An intelligent answer to this question requires a clear-eyed appraisal of some of the major forces at work in today's world. Only then can we make a determined effort to bend these forces in a direction favorable to free institutions.

It now seems clear that it is no longer sufficient to think in some of the terms current even in the recent past. Phrases like "Communist world," "Free World," and "Communist aggression" have largely lost their meanings. What once seemed to be a "Communist world" is now a group of different countries with different national and international aspirations. Their chief common denominator is that they are all repressive political dictatorships. But there are non-Communist dictatorships, too. What has been referred to as the "Free World" also is a group of nations with widely differing forms and policies, their common denominator chiefly a negative one—that they are not Communist.

"Communist aggression" is indeed the major challenge of our times, but the threat of Russian aggression, with Russia now preaching peaceful coexistence and competition, is one thing and that of Chinese aggression, preaching world revolution, quite another. Such overt military aggression as that of North Vietnam poses still another kind of threat. They are all grave threats, to their neighbors and to the rest of the world, and the fact that these threats are different and vastly more complicated than in the past, when men viewed the world as divided simply into two camps, offers both greater dangers and greater opportunities to the democracies.

The Fragmentation of Two Power Blocs. The chief threat of communism does not lie in the industrially developed countries, where Marx thought it would take over, but in the less developed, rural areas of the world.

The amazingly prosperous, industrial, and free Japan, risen from the ashes of total defeat in World War II, is a vivid contrast to the rural China, a victor in the war, now sunk in communism. On the other side of the world, Communist propagandists and subversives found a golden opportunity after the collapse of Nazi Germany, when most of Europe lay prostrate. Yet the industrial Western nations got back on their feet, achieved economic strength, prospered, and preserved their political freedoms.

These achievements would not have been possible without large-scale aid from the United States, through such government policies as the Marshall Plan and reduced tariffs, and through private American loans and increased trade. Also, they took place while the United States provided a military shield against any open aggression west of the Iron Curtain. But Europe's resistance to communism and its amazing and continued industrial growth and prosperity were also made possible by the efforts of the countries themselves. Through necessity they banded together to present a united front of economic and military strength.

As a logical outgrowth of the Marshall Plan, European nations worked together in such things as the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community, and the European Free Trade Association, all aimed at increasing trade and strengthening economic bonds. In addition, they joined the United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to present a unified military front strong enough to discourage any would-be aggressor.

To many, these economic and military alliances laid the groundwork for a Europe politically unified as well. But such unity is difficult to achieve, flying as it does in the face of centuries of conflict and differing national traditions. So, as economic and military strength was achieved and the Communist threat in Europe seemed to be receding, nationalist aspirations again became prominent.

A newly strong France under President Charles de Gaulle, for ex-



ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING CONTRASTS of our time is provided by China and Japan. The former, one of the victors in World War II, now suffers under the iron hand of an implacable Communist dictatorship, while countless millions exist at or near the starvation level. Japan, on the other hand, has risen from the devastation of total defeat to become a free and prosperous industrial nation.

In the picture above, the Chinese Minister of Railways and his chief assistant are driven through the streets of Peking by members of the Red Guard. The dunce caps and placards spell out the "crimes" they are supposed to have committed against the Mao regime. At the right is shown the Ginsa, one of modern Tokyo's chief centers of shopping and night life. Tokyo is now the world's largest city.



ample, now insists on going its own way in the world. France refused to sign the nuclear test ban treaty and went ahead exploding its own atom bombs. It began to boycott Common Market meetings if it failed to get its own way, and vetoed British entry into the Common Market. And, on September 9, 1965, De Gaulle served notice that France was withdrawing from the military organization, NATO. De Gaulle has not quite ruled out a politically unified Europe, but he insists any such unification be on France's terms.

In Asia, where Vietnam and its neighbors were once part of French Indochina, France also embarked on an independent course. In 1966 she was making overtures to Red China and suggesting that the United States should let North and South Vietnam settle their conflict on their own. This suggestion was naturally welcome to China, for without United States aid South Vietnam would be helpless against aggression from the Communist North.

Thus, the United States must now share its power. And so must the Soviet Union. Traditionally, communism's greatest strength was its unity. But now this unity is shattered: to some degree in the increasing independence of the European satellites, and violently in the great Chinese-Soviet split. If this creates greater opportunities for imaginative policies on our part, it also creates some danger to the entire world. The Russians themselves depict the Chinese as war-crazy psychopaths, quite capable of rash adventures, and no one really knows how long it will take China to be capable of delivering, as well as exploding, nuclear bombs.

Meanwhile, China is shrewdly trying to advance its own national interest without war. For example, the United States had taken Pakistan for granted as the very hinge of its SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) alliance and had sent it large quantities of tanks and airplanes. China, quite aware that Pakistan sought these weapons mainly through fear of India, cleverly used American support of India to win Pakistan's friendship.

China also sought to win friends in other countries in Asia and in Africa, through propaganda and "goodwill" visits. At first successful in these overtures, by 1966 China was being repulsed by many countries—largely because of counter moves by its erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union.

Thus, the whole world power struggle has become like a strange football game in which the players seem to change sides at will.

Today's Great Challenge. Barring a major war begun by accident or some insane act by a war-crazy dictator who has a nuclear striking force, probably the greatest challenge the non-Communist world faces is what the Communists call "wars of national liberation." This is simply a roundabout term for what might better be called "indirect aggression," or the waging of undeclared war by Communist guerrillas. In this type of war, small groups of highly trained

men infiltrate remote areas. They live among, sometimes marry into, the peasantry. Wearing no uniforms, they are indistinguishable from these poor people. They can make swift, damaging raids on government convoys and strong points, and then melt into the protective coloration of village life.

An outstanding example of this type of war, and how it can develop into an overt war of aggression, is the conflict that began in 1954 between the Communist forces called the Vietcong and the government of South Vietnam in Southeast Asia. This began as a guerrilla war. The Communist government of North Vietnam, headed by Ho Chi Minh, supported the guerrillas with arms and supplies. But soon the government in the North was sending its own trained men into the South. Indirect aggression had become direct.

The United States moved to help the legitimate government of South Vietnam. Soon after he took office in 1961, President Kennedy ordered a rapid step-up in the training of antiguerrilla units in the United States Army. Hundreds of American specialists, trained in jungle fighting tactics, were sent to instruct the South Vietnamese regular soldiers and to ferry them by helicopter into the swamps and mountains where the Communist guerrillas hide.

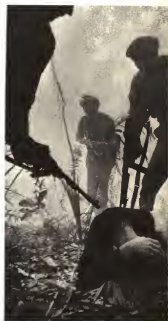
Sympathy and Terror. Guerrilla warfare is a technique in which Communists have no monopoly. It was practiced by American frontier fighters—notably the “Swamp Fox,” Francis Marion—against the British redcoats, long before Karl Marx was born. However, United States antiguerrilla forces in a region like Vietnam face a serious handicap. The Communists in many of their own operations have been able to win—sometimes through sympathy, sometimes through terror—the support of the village people, who help them to hide. Communist guerrillas cultivate support in two ways:

(1) The technique of friendship. Guerrillas are dependent for their survival on the goodwill of the people of the countryside in which they are fighting. Therefore, the guerrillas strive to convince the poorer sections of the population that only communism is concerned with the interests of the people and that the officials of the legitimate government have no sincere interest in improving conditions for the underprivileged.

(2) The tactics of terror. When persuasion fails to win the support of the villagers, Communist guerrillas threaten, and carry out, terrible reprisals on those who refuse to cooperate with them.

To defeat the Communists' sympathetic approach, America must encourage local governments to effect genuine reforms. To counter terror, the United States must continue to provide specialized military assistance to oust the Communist guerrillas. In proper proportions, these two approaches can preserve the freedom of nations threatened by the Communists.

Thus, even after the “escalation” of the fighting in Vietnam



TRAINING FOR THE GRIM REALITY TO COME
Special forces of the United States Army are now being trained to fight under the conditions of guerrilla warfare they will encounter in Vietnam. They are instructed by officers who have been there and know what this kind of war is like. The “captive” in this picture is actually the son of the training camp commander.



A TYPICAL VILLAGE STREET in South Vietnam. In thousands of such isolated villages throughout the country, the people help to support the armed forces of the Vietcong—either through ignorance or terror of reprisals.

The un-uniformed guerrillas often mingle with the villagers and live there, waiting for just the right moment to strike, swiftly and silently, at the legal government forces of South Vietnam.

brought the struggle to open warfare, President Johnson continued to emphasize the fact that simply putting down the military threat would not be enough. The South Vietnamese government, if it was going to survive, would have to put into effect sweeping reforms to better the lot of its people. The United States would help them with this, even as it helped them with the actual fighting.

The Problem of Subversion

To some observers, communism presents an equal challenge here at home. To what extent is internal subversion by members of the United States Communist party and its sympathizers a threat to the United States in this global struggle?

The largest vote that United States Communists have ever been able to muster for their own presidential candidate on their own ticket was 102,785 in 1932, at the depth of depression. The Communist vote dropped to 80,159 in 1936, even though the Soviet Union's opposition to Hitler's Germany aroused considerable popular support in the United States. It was also the period when Communist organizers had achieved substantial influence—now dwindled to insignificant proportions—in the labor movement. In 1940, after the Soviet-German pact of 1939, the Communist vote in the United States fell to 46,251.

As the hostility of the Soviet Union toward the United States grew in the years after World War II, membership in the United States Communist party gradually sank to less than 10,000. Under the Smith Act of 1940, most of the top leaders of the United States Communist party were tried in 1949 and sentenced to prison as members of a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. The Communist party, though still legal, could no longer be regarded as a political party alone, but as a vehicle for subversion and espionage under the control of a foreign power. Once this was determined, the party's illegal activities became the proper subject for surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and all its movements and decisions became quickly known.

Subversion in High Places. In 1948 the famous Alger Hiss case set off a wave of national concern over Communist penetration of the government itself. Hiss had been an influential member of the State Department, had accompanied Roosevelt to the Yalta Conference, and had acted as organizing secretary of the United Nations. Microfilms produced by Whittaker Chambers, a onetime messenger for a Communist spy ring, revealed that Hiss had been supplying secret government documents to the ring. The Hiss investigation brought out evidence that this small ring had penetrated to high places and exercised an influence far beyond its size.

This led to a wave of congressional investigations that sometimes flagrantly violated individuals' legal safeguards and groundlessly damaged many individual reputations. Fortunately, these near-hysterical excesses soon subsided, with the result that the nation could give proper, and not exaggerated, concern to Communist penetration. The Smith Act was reinforced by the Internal Security Act of 1950, but after a long legal battle the Supreme Court ruled that Communists did not have to register as foreign agents. Then, after sixteen years of underground existence, the party emerged once more. In June of 1966 it held a convention in New York and made plans once again to run candidates for office.

Some 300 delegates attended, mostly middle-aged, and they seemed to have lost whatever revolutionary zeal they may have possessed back in the days of the depression or World War II. And of

ficial agencies, such as the FBI, have always been charged with the responsibility of keeping the constant but quiet watch that the actual danger requires. Their effectiveness is part of the public record.

The Arms Race and Arms Control

Ever since the end of World War II the United States and the Soviet Union have been engaged in an open contest to see which shall prove stronger, the way of communism or the way of freedom. At the beginning of his first Five-Year Plan, Stalin set the goal of someday "overtaking and surpassing" the United States. His successors, too, have kept their eyes on that goal.

This test of strength has had its chief expression in an astronomically expensive arms race. The Soviet Union threw immense national treasure and effort into developing its own atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb. Furthermore, because they began their development of powerful booster rockets several years before the United States did, the Russians gained an early lead in the exploration of outer space. However, in the 1960's the United States managed to close this gap, and no one is giving odds now on which nation will first have a man on the moon.

The magnitude of the arms race is simply stated: Even before the stepped-up fighting in Vietnam, the United States was spending \$50 billion a year on defense, or ten times President Coolidge's entire federal budget in the 1920's. The Soviet Union is spending at least this much and possibly more. These sums represent an enormous burden on both countries.

The United States has no aggressive designs on any country, but it is determined to maintain a "deterrent" so strong that any nation that risks a surprise attack upon the United States will itself be certain of destruction. And in case any government was in doubt of this, on June 3, 1964, President Johnson announced that the United States was stronger than any combination of adversaries, with 1,000 fully armed missiles ready for retaliation.

At the same time, the United States has sought to persuade the U.S.S.R. that it is in the long-term interest of both countries to limit the arms race. To this end it proposed the gradual destruction of nuclear weapons, provided each country agreed to adequate inspection and control. The Soviets balked at this, but they did sign and abide by the nuclear test ban treaty, and in 1965 agreed to a resumption of talks about disarmament and nuclear control. While there is little visible progress in this, some see added hope because the United States and the Soviet Union now have discovered that they have interests in common as well as conflicts. And one common interest is to try to prevent the spread of nuclear power to more and more nations.



**AWESOME DETERRENT
TO ATTACK**

A submarine-launched Polaris missile streaks for the target from under water. Missile-firing submarines are among the most effective weapons in the U.S. defensive arsenal. Always on the move, they are prepared to let fly nuclear missiles at any nation that launches a surprise attack.

Our Long-Range Attitude Toward Communism

The United States has no quarrel with people living under Communist governments. It sympathized with the Russians in their revolution in 1917 and was the first great power to recognize the Provisional Government. It has affirmed its desire to live in peace with the Chinese and has made it abundantly clear it will make no attempt to overthrow the Communist government of North Vietnam. Repellent as the Communist system may be to the American people, their government recognizes the right of any people to live under any government they prefer—if they are free to express their preference. The United States' only quarrel arises from the efforts of these governments to force their systems on other people against their will, by subversion or by aggression, direct or indirect. These attempts must be and will be resisted.

Otherwise, the United States is content to compete with communism. And for this long-range struggle, it is now possible to take hope from the changes within most of the Communist countries. For example, the Soviet Union has been giving a first-class—though doctrinaire—education to many millions of its young people. This educated group of young men and women have now begun to question the untruths they are told about world events and about government activities that affect their daily lives. Moreover, as Soviet industry has expanded, the people have begun grumbling at not receiving more material benefits for all their sacrifices. None of this is detectable among Asian Communists, but, however slowly, these desires for truth and for a better life seem to be pushing the Russian and European Communist rulers in the direction of freedom and away from tyranny.

Capitalism Adjusts to Meet the Challenge. While communism everywhere was still responding to internal crises by repressing individuals and hobbling the economy, capitalism long ago began transforming itself to meet the challenges of an ever more complex world. Since capitalism's last and worst depression, in the 1930's, the United States has moved to provide "built-in cushions" against a recurrence of such bad times.

These include governmental systems of unemployment insurance, providing up to 39 weeks compensation in some states. These provisions guarantee that a worker who becomes unemployed during a recession will continue to receive an income. This helps him, and his continued purchasing power prevents the recession from deepening.

Other measures to combat depressions include social security for the aged, bolstered by corporate pension funds now totaling more than \$40 billion and growing at the rate of \$3 billion a year. These measures provide a constant source of new strength to the economy



**A PASSION
FOR CULTURE**

Learning at leisure, this young Soviet girl is typical of many Russians who devote themselves with the utmost seriousness to the pursuit of knowledge. The younger Soviet generation seems to possess an almost obsessive desire for "truth"—as opposed to the lies it now attributes to the era of Stalin.



HELPING HAND OF THE PEACE CORPS

In Colombia one of the U.S. Peace Corps' volunteers shows a farmer how to inoculate his pigs against cholera. Through this program and other projects, the U.S. is helping underdeveloped nations improve living standards, thus fortifying them against Communism's subversion.

by increasing the purchasing power of retired people. They also include privately financed medical and hospital insurance, recently supplemented by the "medicare" act of Congress providing governmental health insurance for the elderly. Equally important are government-set minimum wages, high wage union contracts, and the recently enacted "poverty program" designed to help train and increase the earning capacity of the less fortunate in our society. All of this prevents the "going wage" from tending toward what the hungriest worker would be willing to accept.

The years since the depression have also seen the development of regulatory agencies, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), which protects the interests of the investing public; of conservation and power districts, like the Columbia Basin Project, which have exercised a salutary effect on the preservation and intelligent utilization of national resources; of joint government and private enterprises such as those that launched the Telstar satellite and made possible the application of atomic power in private industry.

Most important of all is the now accepted theory that the federal government should use its vast powers of taxation, fiscal controls, and public works, not only for government revenue and improvements but also as a brake or an accelerator on the economy to combat inflation or deflation.

The "class war" that communism preaches—the idea of irreconcilable hostility between owners and workers—has become ridiculous in America's fluid society. In the United States, this year's factory worker may be next year's employer. In any case, the worker's sons and daughters are almost certain to have the opportunity for college education and to be free to become doctors, engineers, teachers, or other specialists. And when nearly one out of every six adult Americans owns some shares of stock in capitalist enterprises, workers also have become owners in a very real sense.

The Task of Democracy. It now becomes America's task to continue its generous program of helping the less developed nations of Asia and Africa to take the road to abundance. The Peace Corps, established during the Kennedy administration, is an excellent example of American assistance to underdeveloped areas. This kind of help is, of course, called for by the injunction of the world's great religions that men should live as brothers and help their neighbors. It is also called for by common prudence and enlightened self-interest, since the world today is explosive with revolutionary ferment.

The miracles of modern medicine have reduced the incidence of many diseases that formerly afflicted backward regions. Now populations are growing far faster than the productive capacity of primitive forms of agriculture and industry. Consequently a serious crisis is in store for many emerging nations.

The revolution of communications—with not only supersonic transport but also, very soon, universal television by way of space-satellite platforms—will shrink all national boundaries to insignificance. In the process, even the least advanced peoples will be stripped of their ignorance about the good life that others already have and that they can dream of achieving.

With the unlimited power of atomic energy looming on the horizon and the possibility that seawater may be used for irrigation, it is possible to foresee a time when there will no longer be “have-not” nations. Then the abolition of poverty from the world—the greatest revolution in all history—may become possible.

In a revolutionary age, our own Declaration of Independence still proclaims the truest and most enduring revolution in man’s history. “The Declaration of Independence,” Lincoln said in 1861, “. . . gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men.”

A Positive Program. Since the people who live under communism are not and cannot be our enemies, it is possible to hope that “victory” in the cold war will come not through military action but through a change in conditions that caused the conflict.

There are signs that such changes may be under way. Until these become much clearer and more widespread, however, we must assume that communism will continue to seek to impose its system on the world by dividing and undermining it. We must remain strong and help others remain strong in order to discourage future ventures like that of Khrushchev in Cuba and to deter open aggression by Asiatic Communists.

But in the long run the real showdown with communism may lie in peaceful competition. So, as individuals, each of us has the duty to do everything in his power to defeat the Communist threat by making our own democracy stronger in every possible way.

How, then, can we best do that? By extending, perfecting, and defending the rights and freedoms that we enjoy but that communism denies.

► *We must ensure free speech.* Communism flatly denies the right to free speech. We must never suppress the honest views of others, no matter how much we disagree with them. Let us take as our own the famous credo attributed to Voltaire: “I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.”

► *We must maintain a free press.* We must take care not to join in the suppression or intimidation of newspapers or magazines, radio or television speakers, whose views may not agree with our own. We should voice our protests loudly and clearly but fight cleanly and fairly.

► *We must preserve free elections.* We must do everything in our



**A SYMBOL OF HOPE
FOR THE FUTURE**

This nuclear reactor electric power plant in Michigan is one of many such plants now operating in this country and in Western Europe. The day will come when vast amounts of cheap electricity, produced by atomic energy, will be available to all mankind. This will be a most powerful weapon in the struggle to abolish poverty.

power to strengthen our own electoral procedures. Every citizen who is qualified to vote has a duty to do so. He will help to strengthen democracy by making financial contributions, no matter how small, to the party of his choice. By taking a personal role in that party's activities at the local level, he will help improve the caliber of candidates, increase the willingness of able men to participate in government, and prevent the party from being dominated by special or selfish interests. He will also do everything in his power to see that the right to vote is not denied to any of his fellow citizens. The Constitution gives that right to every adult citizen, and that guarantee must be made real if we are not to seem hypocritical in criticizing communism's denial of free elections.

► *We must uphold our laws.* During Stalin's reign, every Soviet citizen lived in dread of a knock at the door by the secret police in the middle of the night; thousands upon thousands so aroused were dragged away never to be seen again. This still characterizes the purges in China, but in the reaction against Stalin's brutal excesses, the Soviet people have hoped for and are getting more protection from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment by the secret police. But what made these excesses possible in the first place was that the Soviet citizen does not enjoy that bedrock of our own liberties—*habeas corpus*—which assures that any citizen who has been arrested will be released unless he is publicly charged with some offense, and if charged he must be given a fair and prompt trial by a judge or by a jury of fellow citizens. This bastion of old English law is bolstered in the United States by the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to our Constitution. Recent Supreme Court decisions have broadened their application and there is legitimate argument over how far these protections should extend, but so long as we maintain vigilance over these basic rights, the Communist experience can never be duplicated here. But we will all be in greatest danger of losing these rights if we ever acquiesce in their being denied to any individual—however we may loathe or hate what he stands for. By the same token, criticism of our courts or their decisions, if it becomes so abusive as to question the loyalty or patriotism of the judges and juries, endangers our safeguards of the law.

► *We must defend the right to dissent.* Communism has room for only one point of view—the party line; once this is handed down, not even Communist leaders can challenge it. There is no “other side” to any argument. Throughout its history, American democracy has produced hundreds of extraordinary, sometimes extremist and fanatical, spokesmen and movements. Some of these odd groups even nominate their own candidates for President. They preach everything from vegetarianism and antivivisection to the imminent end of the world. They range from the far Right to the far Left of the political spectrum. They are living, healthy symbols of the pluralistic

This will not be easy. Racial readjustments have always been a prime cause of strife and bitterness. But our free system, facing the challenge of communism in a world where the majority of the people are nonwhite, will never be completely secure so long as equality is denied to any of our citizens.

What all of these things add up to, of course, is making American democracy stronger by understanding its essential strengths and being prepared to assert them. At the same time, we must be willing to work to improve this remarkable institution by removing imperfections as they appear, by making sure that practice lives up to principles, and by ensuring that our government continues to work for the greater good of the greatest number while preserving the right of each individual to his individuality.

A Lifetime Project. This is no short-term project. If the world is spared the cataclysmic destruction of nuclear war, it is likely that the contest with communism will remain a part of our daily lives for many years to come. There are those, at home as well as abroad, who mourn that in such a contest democracy is at a disadvantage and who think that we had better use some of our opponents' "efficient" methods if we hope to prevail.

In the mid-1930's this same argument was presented under somewhat similar circumstances. Then it was Adolf Hitler who promised to wipe out "decadent" democracy and create a "thousand-year Reich." A good number of prominent Americans seriously believed Hitler would do just that, and proposed that instead of fighting we should learn to cooperate with the irresistible force of Nazism. Speaking out of professional knowledge, these military and political experts explained that Hitler's airplanes were far and away the best in the world and his pilots superior to any airmen ever before seen. Finally, they warned, Hitler's totalitarian state was better able to concentrate on its goals, since there was no necessity to consult the people before taking action.

Substitute Vostok space capsules for airplanes and the Chinese masses for Hitler's armies, and it is possible to see a certain resemblance between the world situation then and now. But the history of World War II demonstrates that the democracies, despite the "handicaps" of representative government and a decent respect for the rights of individuals and the opinion of mankind, were able to assemble the mighty armies, build the weapons of war, and mount the offensives that ended the vainglorious dreams of the strutting rulers in Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo.

The lesson is clear. We can never defeat communism by fear or trembling or by attacking our own political institutions. But we can defeat it by demonstrating our faith and confidence in our way of life, and by proving to the world that the American pledge of "liberty and justice for all" can become a reality for all mankind.

THE CHAPTER IN REVIEW

Understanding What You Have Read:

1. Is there reason to believe that, in the highly industrialized areas of the world, freedom has made impressive gains as compared with the inroads of communism in these same areas? Give examples.
2. The Soviet-Chinese differences have split the Communist world. Is there a split, too, in the non-Communist world? Discuss it briefly and compare the two.
3. What is meant by what the Communists call "national liberation wars"? Cite examples. What can the non-Communist nations do to combat such wars? Describe how they can develop into full-scale fighting.
4. Summarize the rise and decline of the American Communist party, giving reasons for the increases and decreases in its popularity. What events in the 1940's brought about a clearer awareness of the dangers to American democracy of Communist subversion?
5. What is meant by the term "arms race"? Has this frightening contest placed a burden upon the citizens of the nations involved? Why have attempts at arms control so far proved unsuccessful? Is there hope for the future? Why?
6. Has the United States been "anti-Russian"? What has the American attitude been toward internal Russian communism; toward the Soviet imperialistic policies in other parts of the world? For what reasons do some Western observers have optimistic views about the future tendencies of Russian communism?
7. Most economists believe a depression as serious as that which took place in the 1930's is impossible today. Summarize the measures taken over the last 30 years that justify this belief. Are any of the characteristics of "class warfare" cited by Karl Marx present in the United States?

8. What is our responsibility toward the underdeveloped and emerging nations in their struggle to achieve a high standard of living? Summarize the revolutionary ferment with which the whole world today is explosive.
9. Summarize the rights and freedoms that personify life under American democracy and that are denied under communism.
10. Prepare a brief statement of the attitude that we in the United States must maintain toward basic civil liberties if we are successfully to withstand the Communist challenge to the democratic way of life.

Questions for Discussion:

1. How can we explain the fact that despite Marxian theories to the contrary, the chief threat of communism lies in the primitive, rural, less developed areas of the world? Does this fact help to explain our economic assistance programs to underdeveloped and newly emerging nations?
2. Discuss the policies of President de Gaulle of France in regard to Europe; to Asia. Do you think these policies are justified? Give arguments on both sides.
3. Can the United States and the West contain Communist aggression by preparations for "brush-fire" or localized wars alone? What other steps in military preparedness have we taken to defend the Free World? Do you feel these steps are sufficient? Why or why not?
4. Some Americans do not agree with our defensive approach—indeed, a few advocate preventive war. Discuss the arguments for and against this belief. Do you think there can be a position less extreme than the preventive war approach, and more dynamic than a strictly defensive doctrine?
5. Are the basic freedoms discussed in Chapter 6 absolute—are

there no limits on free speech, for instance? Can you think of examples of such limitations? Do you believe that the freedom of the individual must be curtailed where there is a "clear and present danger" to the national security? What are some of the dangers that might be inherent in such a doctrine?

Activities:

1. Using current newspaper and periodical articles, write a report on the present status of the movement that started after World War II toward a politically unified Europe. Emphasize the following points: (a) progress toward economic unity, (b) difficulties of achieving political unity, (c) the positions of the American and Soviet governments.
2. After sufficient student research, conduct a formal debate on the following topic—*Resolved*, That the Communist party in the United States should be outlawed.
3. Write a book report reviewing a nonfiction discussion of the continuing controversy over American methods for dealing with subversion. For up-to-the-minute books on civil liberties, consult the book review sections of liberal periodicals, such as the *New Republic*, or of conservative periodicals, such as the *National Review*.
4. After thorough research, have several male students prepare an oral report with demonstrations on the tactics of guerrilla warfare, contrasting them with conventional methods of warfare.
5. After sufficient student research, present a panel discussion on the changes, if any, that have taken place in the status of civil liberties in the United States since 1945, attempting to answer the question, "How do we resolve the problem of preserving both individual freedom and national security?"

CHRONOLOGY

Before February 1918, the Russians used a calendar which was some days behind that used in Western Europe. Consequently there is confusion as to the dates which precede the adoption, in 1918, of the new style, or Gregorian, calendar. The dates used throughout this book are based upon the modern calendar.

1818, May 5: Karl Heinrich Marx born in the German Rhineland
1848: Revolt in Europe
1848, Feb.: *Communist Manifesto*
1849: Marx emigrates to England
1855: Alexander II becomes Tsar
1867: *Capital*, Volume I published
1870: Lenin born
1881: Alexander II assassinated
1883: Marx dies; Plekhanov founds League for Emancipation of Labor
1894: Nicholas II becomes Tsar
1895: Lenin arrested for revolutionary activities; later exiled
1900: Lenin returns from Siberia; goes abroad to publish *Iskra*
1902: Socialist Revolutionary party formed out of Populist movement
1903: Second Party Congress at Brussels and London; open split between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks
1905: General strikes and uprising; Trotsky organizes first Soviet
1905, Jan.: Bloody Sunday massacre
1905, Oct.: Constitutional Democratic party (Cadets) formed; Tsar's "October Manifesto" promises reforms
1905, Nov.: Lenin returns home
1906: First Duma convenes; Lenin flees Russia
1907: Second Duma called and dissolved after three months
1907-1912: Third Duma
1912-1917: Fourth Duma
1914: World War I begins; St. Petersburg renamed Petrograd
1917, March: February (by old calendar) Revolution starts; Duma ignores Tsar's order to disband
1917, March 12: Duma and Soviets both set up governing groups

1917, March 15: Tsar Nicholas II signs abdication
1917, April 16: Lenin back from Switzerland; issues "April Theses"
1917, July: Kerensky attacks Germans; riots in Petrograd; Lenin flees the country
1917, Aug.: Kerensky named as the prime minister of the Provisional Government
1917, Nov. 7: October (by old calendar) Revolution; the Bolshevik forces take over government
1917, Nov. 8: Bolshevik decrees on peace and land. Lenin chairman of Soviet of People's Commissars
1917, Dec.: Cheka established and the Red Terror begins
1918, Jan. 18-19: Constituent assembly meets and is dispersed
1918-1921: Civil war and period of "war communism"; free states established in Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia
1918, March 3: Brest-Litovsk treaty
1918, July 16: Tsar executed
1918, Nov. 11: Armistice ends the First World War
1919: Comintern established
1921, March: New Economic Policy (NEP) adopted
1921, March 1-18: Kronstadt revolt
1922: Stalin now party secretary
1922, April 16: Treaty of Rapallo
1922, Dec.: Establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) including the R.S.F.S.R.
1923: Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev form ruling triumvirate
1924, Jan. 21: Death of Lenin
1925, Jan.: Triumvirate removes Trotsky as commissar of war
1927: Stalin seizes greater power
1928-1932: First Five-Year Plan
1929, end of year: Stalin undisputed head of U.S.S.R.
1933: U.S. recognizes U.S.S.R.
1933-1937: Second Five-Year Plan
1935-1938: Stalin's purges
1936-1939: Spanish Civil War
1938-1942: Third Five-Year Plan
1938, March: Trial of Rykov, Bukharin, and other top leaders
1938, Sept.: Munich Pact
1939, March: Germans occupy

Czechoslovakian territory
1939, Aug. 23: Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact with secret protocol
1939, Sept. 1: Nazis invade Poland; beginning of World War II
1939, Sept. 17: Soviet intervention in Poland
1939, Nov. 30: The Soviet Union attacks Finland
1940, June-July: U.S.S.R. annexes Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia; seizes territory from Rumania
1940, June 22: Fall of France
1941, June 22: Nazis invade U.S.S.R.
1941, Dec.: Pearl Harbor and entry of U.S. into World War II
1943: Comintern dissolved
1943, Nov. 28-Dec. 1: Teheran Conference meets
1944, June 6: Allies land in France
1944, Aug.: Warsaw uprising
1945, Feb. 4-11: Yalta Conference
1945, May 8: End of war in Europe
1945, July 17-Aug. 2: Potsdam Conference
1945, Aug. 14: V-J day
1946-1950: Fourth Five-Year Plan
1947, Sept.: Cominform established
1948: Stalin splits with Tito
1948, Feb.: Communists take over in Czechoslovakia
1948, June: Berlin blockade
1950 to 1953: Korean War
1951-1955: Fifth Five-Year Plan
1953, March 5: Stalin dies; Malenkov becomes new premier and first secretary; within a few days Khrushchev in effect replaces Malenkov as first secretary
1953, July: Beria ousted as head of secret police and later shot
1955, Feb.: Bulganin replaces Malenkov as premier
1955, May-June: Khrushchev and Bulganin go to Yugoslavia to make peace with Tito
1955, July: Geneva summit meeting
1956, Feb. 14-25: 20th Party Congress; downgrading of Stalin
1956, April: Cominform dissolved
1956, Oct.: Gomulka reinstated in Poland after June riots in Poznan
1956, Nov.: Soviet troops end brief successful Hungarian revolt
1957, June: Khrushchev defeats

antiparty group to clinch power
1957, Oct. 4: U.S.S.R. puts first Sputnik into orbit
1958, March: Khrushchev replaces Bulganin as premier; holds both of the top jobs
1960, May: U-2 incident; Paris summit conference breaks up
1961, June: Khrushchev meets Kennedy in Vienna, threatens separate treaty with East Germany
1961, Aug.: Berlin wall erected
1961, Oct.: 22nd Party Congress
1962, Aug.: Russians orbit twin cosmonauts
1962, Oct.-Nov.: Cuban crisis; U.S.S.R. installs missiles and troops in Cuba; U.S. imposes arms quarantine; Khrushchev orders missiles dismantled, troops withdrawn

1962, Oct.-Dec.: China-India war on Himalayan border
1963, June-July: Smoldering Soviet-China split flares into open
1963, July 25: Nuclear test ban treaty agreed on; effective Oct. 10
1963, Nov. 22: President Kennedy assassinated
1964, Oct. 12: Soviets launch spacecraft carrying three men
1964, Oct. 14-15: Khrushchev ousted; succeeded as party boss by Leonid Brezhnev, as premier by Aleksii Kosygin
1964, Oct. 16: China explodes first atomic bomb
1964, Oct. 20: New Soviet regime announces speed-up in reforms relaxing economic controls
1965, Feb.: In response to attacks

on U.S. installations, President Johnson orders escalation of war in Vietnam
1965, Aug.: U.S. catching up in space as two astronauts spend record eight days in orbit
1965, Sept. 9: President de Gaulle climaxes France's go-it-alone policy by announcing withdrawal from NATO
1966, Jan. 10: Soviet-sponsored peace talks end war between India and Pakistan
1966, April 5: Premier Kosygin announces by 1967 one third of Soviet industry will be freed of many bureaucratic controls
1966: Supreme Soviet unanimously confirms Brezhnev and Kosygin in top party and government posts

GLOSSARY

This is a directory and brief description of important people, places, and terms mentioned in the book. The reader may wish to turn to these for quick reference.

Antiparty group. Khrushchev's name for the members of the Presidium who tried to overthrow him in 1957 and whom he then succeeded in ousting from power.

"April Theses." The insurrectionary program published by Lenin after Russia's first 1917 Revolution.

Beria (byä'ryl'yä), Lavrenti (1899-1953). Secret police chief under Stalin. Removed from Presidium in 1953, arrested, and reportedly shot by his fellow Presidium members.

Bolshevik. See box, page 8.

Bourgeoisie. The merchant middle class that rose with the growth of the cities. With the coming of industrialization, this group became the enterprisers who built and owned factories, employed wage earners. Used as a term of opprobrium by Marx.

Brest-Litovsk. City in western Russia where the Bolsheviks signed a costly and humiliating peace treaty

with Germany on March 3, 1918.
Brezhnev (brezh'nev), Leonid (1906-). First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. A veteran party worker, he became President of the U.S.S.R. in 1960, giving up that ceremonial post to become Khrushchev's party deputy early in 1964. He took over the top party position when Khrushchev was ousted later that year.

Bukharin (boök'hä'rën), Nikolai (1888-1938). Economist who became the party's chief theorist and editor of *Pravda* from 1918 to 1929. Executed in Stalin's purges.

Bulganin (bool'gä'nyin), Nikolai (1895-). Soviet premier from 1955 until Khrushchev dismissed him in 1958 and took the job himself.

Capitalism. An economic system in which the land, resources, and means for production and distribution of goods are essentially kept in private hands and subject to competition.

Central Committee. The governing group of the Russian Communist party, now about 130 strong, which

theoretically makes policy decisions for the party and thus for the Soviet government. See chart, page 135.

Cheka. The secret police established shortly after the Revolution in 1917 and replaced in 1922 by the GPU. Its sinister work has continued under various names including OGPU, NKVD, and MVD. The MVD was replaced in 1962 by the Ministry of Public Law and Order.

Chernishevsky (chir'nî'shäf'ski), Nikolai (1828-1889). 19th-century Russian writer whose utopian novel *What Is to Be Done?* greatly influenced Lenin's generation.

Chernov (chër'nóf'), Victor (1873-1952). Socialist Revolutionary minister in Kerensky's Provisional Government and chairman of the ill-fated constituent assembly of 1918.

Cominform. Communist Information Bureau founded in 1947 to coordinate Communist party action in France, Italy, and particularly the satellites. Dissolved in 1956.

Comintern. The Communist International, formed in Moscow in March 1919 to work openly for the estab-

ishment of communism throughout the world. Dissolved in 1943.

Communism. See page 8.

Constitutional Democratic party. Known as the Cadets, this moderate reform party held the largest number of seats in the first Duma and was an important political force until the 1917 Revolution.

Democratic centralism. See page 92.

Duma. Tsarist parliament established as a result of the 1905 revolts.

Dzerzhinsky (dyir-zhén'ski), Felix (1877-1926). Organizer and first commissar of the feared Cheka (secret police).

Engels, Friedrich (1820-1895). German socialist; co-founder with Karl Marx of modern revolutionary communism.

February Revolution. Russian term for the first Revolution of 1917. According to the Western calendar, it actually took place in March.

Five-Year Plan. Ambitious program launched by Stalin in 1928 to industrialize the Soviet Union in the shortest possible time and, in the process, to convert its countryside into collective farms. Succeeded by other plans of varying durations.

Gomulka (gó-mool'ká), Wladyslaw (1905-). Communist leader of Poland who was ousted from his party post by Stalin in 1948 for "nationalism" and later imprisoned. Gomulka was reinstated, however, in 1956 when pressure within the party and rioting among the Polish people forced his recall.

Great Leap Forward. Mao Tse-tung's program announced in 1958 to industrialize Communist China overnight.

Hegel, Georg W.F. (1770-1831). The German philosopher whose concept of the "dialectic" was used by Marx in formulating his own theories.

"Izvestia." Official government newspaper. See also *Pravda*.

Kadar (ká'dár), Janos (1912-). Communist boss of Hungary, put in office by Russian armed forces after the Budapest rising of 1956.

Kaganovich (ká-gü-nó'vyich), Lazar (1893-). Stalin's heavy-in-

dustrial boss. It was as Kaganovich's energetic assistant that Khrushchev caught Stalin's attention. In 1957 Khrushchev deposed Kaganovich as a first deputy premier for his membership in the antiparty group.

Kamenev (ká'myi-nyé'), Lev (1883-1936). One of Lenin's chief lieutenants, Moscow party boss, and member of the triumvirate who succeeded Lenin. Purged by Stalin.

Kerensky (ki-ryán'ski), Alexander (1881-). Socialist Revolutionary party member; and dominating figure in the Provisional Government which held office from March 1917 until Lenin's coup in November.

Khrushchev (króosh-chóf'), Nikita (1894-1977). Successor to Stalin as number one leader of the Soviet Union. He became First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party in 1953 and Premier (Chairman of the Council of Ministers) in 1958. He held both the top party and top government jobs until his ouster in 1964.

Kirov (ké'ráf), Sergei (1888-1934). Stalin's party chief in Leningrad whose mysterious assassination in December 1934 touched off the great purges of the 1930's.

Kornilov (kür-nyé'láf), Lavr (1870-1918). General named military commander in chief by Kerensky after the February Revolution, but who later opposed the Provisional Government in a political incident that contributed to Kerensky's downfall.

Kosygin (kah-see'gin) Aleksí N. (1904-). Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or Premier of the Soviet Union. A trained economist and factory manager, he entered politics as mayor of Leningrad in 1938. He rose rapidly to become the youngest member of the Presidium, in 1946. He was Khrushchev's most trusted economic advisor and took over the top government post when Khrushchev was ousted in 1964.

Krupskaya (króóp'ská-yá), Nadezhda (1869-1939). Lenin's wife and Russian revolutionist.

Kulaks. Relatively well-to-do peas-

ants, a class liquidated by Stalin in his farm collectivization drive which reached a climax in the early 1930's.

Lenin (lyá'nin). N. (born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov), (1870-1924). The founder of Bolshevism and of the Communist state in Russia.

Leningrad. Second largest city in the U.S.S.R. and capital until 1918. Known as St. Petersburg until 1914 and Petrograd until 1924.

Malenkov (mü-lyén-kóf'), Georgi (1902-). Soviet premier from Stalin's death in 1953 until 1955. A member of the antiparty group, he was ousted from the Presidium by Khrushchev in 1957.

Maletier (mal'á-tér), Pal (1920-1958). Hungarian army tank officer who led troops in the bitter fighting during the 1956 Budapest rising against the Russian forces.

Mao Tse-tung (mä'ó dzü'dóong') (1893-). One of the founders in 1921 of the Chinese Communist party and now the supreme leader of Red China.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883). Father of revolutionary communism; author of *Capital* and co-author with Engels of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Mensheviks. See box, page 8.

Mikoyan (myi-kü-yán'), Anastas (1895-). Trade expert under both Stalin and Khrushchev. He became first deputy premier in 1958 and served briefly as President of the Soviet Union after Khrushchev's ouster in 1964.

Molotov (mó'lü-tüf), Vyacheslav (1890-). Leading Bolshevik; Soviet premier (1930-1941) and foreign minister (1939-1949), (1953-1956); a member of the antiparty group; since 1957 in relative obscurity.

Nagy (nódzh), Imre (1896-1958). Communist premier of Hungary 1953-1955, recalled to office for 12 days just before the Budapest rising of 1956. He was executed by the Communists in 1958.

National Liberation Wars. See box, page 93.

New Economic Policy (NEP). The economic policy ordered by Lenin in

1921, when spreading hunger and unrest made it advisable to restore certain aspects of private enterprise.

October Revolution. Russian term for the second Revolution of 1917. According to the Western calendar, it actually took place in November.

Pervukhin (pĕr-vŭŭ-kĕn'), Mikhail (1904-). Soviet planner under Stalin and Khrushchev; lowered in rank after joining the move to overthrow Khrushchev in 1957.

Petrograd. See Leningrad.

Plekhanov (plyĕ-ka'nĕf), Georgi (1857-1918). Father of Russian Marxism; founder of the Russian Social Democratic party. He gradually broke with Lenin after 1903.

Politburo. Powerful Political Bureau within the Central Committee of the Communist party. Renamed the "Presidium" in 1952.

"Pravda" (Truth). Founded in 1912 as the official newspaper of the Bolshevik party and later of the Communist party. The official government newspaper is called *Izvestia* (News). A popular Russian saying is that "There is no news in *Pravda* and no truth in *Izvestia*."

Presidium. See Politburo.

Rakosi (ră'kô-shĕ), Matyas (1892-). Communist party boss of Hungary from 1945 until a few months before the Budapest uprising in 1956.

Saburov (sa-boŭ'riĕf), Maxim (1900-). A leading Soviet economic planner, ousted from the Presidium after joining the move to overthrow Khrushchev in 1957.

St. Petersburg. See Leningrad.

Smolny Institute. A onetime fashionable girls' school in Petrograd that was the 1917 headquarters of the Bolshevik revolutionists.

Social Democratic party. See box, page 8.

Socialism. See box, page 8.

Socialist Revolutionary party. Party formed in 1900 by the uniting of several Populist groups. Suppressed by Lenin in 1918 after winning largest single block of votes in the election for the constituent assembly.

Soviet. Russian term for council. The first Soviets were revolutionary committees of workers and soldiers organized during the 1905 uprising in St. Petersburg.

Stalin (sta'lyin), Joseph (born Djughashvili), (1879-1953). General secretary of the Communist party from 1922 and undisputed dictator of the Soviet Union from 1929 until his death in 1953.

Stolypin (stŭ-li'pyin), Peter (1863-1911). As premier from 1906 to 1911, he firmly supported the supremacy of the tsar. He died at the hand of a revolutionary assassin.

Summit Conference. A Geneva conference in 1955 at which Eisenhower and other Allied chieftains met Khrushchev and Bulganin. It was so called because Churchill had been urging a "meeting at the summit." The term has since been applied to any major meeting of heads of government.

Sun Yat-sen (soŏn'yăt'sĕn') (1866-1925). Chinese revolutionist and first president of the Chinese republic established in 1911.

Tauride Palace. Seat of the 1917 Provisional Government in Petrograd. The Soviets also met there. Location of the ill-fated constituent assembly of 1918.

Teheran Conference. First of a series of Allied heads of government conferences of World War II, November 28 to December 1, 1943.

Tito (tĕ'tŏ) (born Josip Broz) (1892-). Communist dictator of Yugoslavia since 1945, who in 1948 broke with Stalin and made Yugoslavia an independent Communist state.

Tkachev (tkă-chŏf'), Peter. 19th century Russian revolutionist who inspired terrorist movements such as the "People's Will."

Trotsky (trŏts'kĭ), Leon (born Lev Davidovich Bronstein), (1879-1940). A principal figure in the Bolshevik Revolution; organizer of the Red Army. Eventually exiled by Stalin and murdered by a Stalinist agent in Mexico in 1940.

Tukhachevsky (tŭok'hŭ-chĕf'skĕ), Mikhail (1893-1937). Red Army mar-

shal who commanded Russian troops in 1920 in the war against Poland. Later became chief of general staff. In 1937 he was executed by Stalin on trumped-up charges of plotting with the Nazis.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The official name of the country, adopted in 1922. The union consists of 15 constituent republics, of which by far the largest is the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Voroshilov (vŭ-rŭ-shĭ'ľŭf), Kliment (1881-). A Red Army commander in the civil war; defense commissar under Stalin; "president" of U.S.S.R. from 1953 until 1960.

Vyshinsky (vi-shĭn'skĭ), Andrei (1883-1954). Stalin's prosecutor in the "show" trials of the 1930's and foreign minister (1949-1953). A familiar figure as Soviet U.N. delegate.

War Communism. Term used to describe the period from 1918 to 1921 during which Russia suffered great economic hardships as a result of the Bolsheviks' effort to impose communism rapidly and in the midst of war.

White Army. The name given to the anti-Communist military forces which fought in the civil war (1918-1920).

Yalta Conference. Second meeting during World War II of the three top Allied leaders, February 4-11, 1945.

Zhdanov (zhďă'nŏf), Andrei (1896-1948). Stalin's wartime boss of Leningrad; later the harsh overseer of Soviet culture and the international Communist movement until his sudden and somewhat mysterious death in 1948.

Zhukov (zhŏŭ'kŏf), Georgi (1896-). Soviet general in the decisive World War II Battle of Stalingrad and leader of Soviet troops in fall of Berlin. Although he helped defeat the antiparty group in 1957, Khrushchev demoted him and relegated him to obscurity later that year.

Zinoviev (zyĭ-nŏv'yĕf), Grigory (1883-1936). One of Lenin's top lieutenants; Leningrad party boss; member of the triumvirate who succeeded Lenin. Purged by Stalin in 1936.

FOR FURTHER READING

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INDEX

Absolute monarchies, European 19th Century, 14-15; Russia, 29, 33

Adzhubei, Aleksii, 116
Agreements, Yalta, *88, 89-91; Geneva Summit, 102, *104; Hungary, 106, 108

Aggression: Communist definition, 92; indirect, 170, 172
Agriculture, Chinese, 153, *154-155; starvation, 153, 155-156

Agriculture, Russian: farm collectivization, 72, 73, 134, 135; famine, 65, *67, 73; persecution of *kulaks*, 73; farm problems and food shortages, 101, 103, 134-135, 140, 141; agricultural production compared to U.S., 135; farming, *140, *142

Albania, 90, 99, 158, 159, 160, 162, 166

Alexander II, Tsar, 30, 31
Alexander III, Tsar, 33
Alexandria, Tsarina, 40, 41, 51
American Relief Administration, 63, *67

Anti-Comintern Pact, 85
April Theses, Lenin's, 42
Asia, free nations as, Communist bloc, map 100; Red China seeks friends in, 172
Atomic energy, 8, 92, 172, 176, *179

Austria: Social Democrats, 9; 1848 revolts, 15; peace treaty, 102

Austro-Hungarian Empire, 14, 15

Bakunin, Mikhail, 30, 32
Balkans: German-Soviet rivalry, 86; under Soviet control, 90. *See also* separate countries.

Baltic states, Soviet invasion, 86, 92

Beneš, Eduard, 91, 95

Beria, Lavrenti, 98, 101, 103

Berlin: wall in, 8; Soviets allowed capture of, 90; Allied agreements on, 91; crisis, 91, 95, 162. *See also* East Berlin; West Berlin.

Berlin airlift, *94-95

Berlin blockade, 91, 95

Berlin wall, 8-9, 162, *163

Bloody Sunday (revolt of 1905), 36-37, *46-47

Bolsheviks, 8, 9, 58; faction formed, 38; in 1905 revolt, 29, 36-38; in 1917 Soviet, 42, 43, 44; in 1917 election, 60-61; change name to Communist party, 63. *See also* Russian

Communist party; Russian Revolution.

Brest Litovsk, Treaty of, 63, *64

Brezhnev, Leonid, 85, *115-116, *126, 134, 160; quoted, 125, *129, 134

Bukharin, Nikolai, 67, 69, 77

Bulgaria, Nikolai, 101-102, *104, 108

Bulgaria, 90, 160, *161

Bukovsky, Valery, *126

Cadets. *See* Russian Constitutional Democratic party.

Capital, Marx, 17, 34

Capitalism: Marx's analysis of, 21-23; ability of reform, 26, 177-178; imperialist phase, 59

Castro, Fidel, 113, 118

Catechism of a Revolutionist, Netchaev, 32

Ceausescu, Nicolae, 165

Cheka, 62

Chernishevsky, Nikolai, 30, 31, 32, 35

Chernov, Victor, 61-62

Chiang Kai-shek, 79, *80, 96

China (for events after 1949, *see also* Red China): rise of communism in, 79-80, 85; war with Japan, 80, 96; civil war, 96

Chinese Communist party, 79, 96

Chou En-lai, Premier of China, 117, *118, 160

Churchill, Sir Winston, 86, *88, 89, 90, 93, 134; quoted, 86, 93, 102

Cold war, 85, 91, 96, 179; roots of, 90, 91; "rolling crisis" technique, 109. *See also* Berlin blockade; Cuba; National-liberation wars.

Collectivization: of farms, in Russia, 72-73, 114, 128, 134-136; reversal in Poland, 105, 164; in Red China, 153-154, 155

Cominform, 94

Comintern, 78

Common Market, 171, 172

Communards, *24-25, 26

Communism: choice of term, 20; definitions, 8-9; goals of, 8-9; methods of, 8-9, 29, 173, 179; perversion of Marxism, 9, 26, 27, 59, 93, 133; roots of, 18, 20

Communist bloc, 9, map 10-11; maps 99, 100

Communist China. *See* Red China.

Communist conspiracy, worldwide, 29, 78; popular fronts, 29, 80

Communist expansion, 84-85,

89-91, 92, 113, 170; U.S. policy, 95, 112-113, 174-175; and peaceful coexistence, 103, 110, 171

Communist Manifesto, 12-13, 16, 17, 21, 26

Communist parties outside U.S.S.R., 23, 78-80, 81, 94-95, 96, 174-175

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), 165

Cuba, 85, 109, 111, 112-113, 118, 161, 179; and Red China, 118; Bay of Pigs invasion in, 112

Curzon Line, 64

Czech Corps, 63, *64-65

Czechoslovakia: 1938 crisis, 82; Communist, 90-91, 95, 159, 161-162; mass demonstration, *151

De Gaulle, Charles, *119, 171-172

Dialectic, Hegel's, 20-21

Dialectical materialism, 21

Dictatorship of proletariat: Marxist theory, 23-25; Communist practice, 59, 62, 125, 170

Disarmament, 104, 119, 176

Doctor Zhivago, Pasternak, 127, 133

Dostoevsky, Feodor, *31, 33

Duma, 37, 39, 40, 41

Dzerzhinsky, Felix, *62

East Berlin, 168; riots (1953), 85, 102. *See also* Berlin wall.

East Germany, 9, 91, 162-163; economy, 162; refugees, 162; 1953 revolt, 162; sports parade, *151; Soviet armed forces in, *163; and "little Berlin walls," 163

Eastern Europe: Soviets allowed capture of capitals of, 90; Soviet domination, 85, 90-91, 94-95. *See also* Satellite.

Egypt, 109; Communist arms aid, 85, 104, 161

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 90, 102, *104, 109, 110

Engels, Friedrich, 12, 13, 16, *17, 18, 20, 29

Europe: 1848 revolutions, 14-16; forms of socialism, 9; U.S. economic aid to, 94-95; cooperation of Western, 95-96; free nations as, Communist bloc, map 99; and NATO, 99, 171; growth of nationalism in, 171. *See also* Eastern Europe.

European Coal and Steel Community, 171

European Free Trade Association, 171

Fascism, 80, 81-82

Finland, 85

Fourier, Charles, 20

France, 82; Social Democrats, 9; 1848 revolt, 15; Communards, *24-25, 26; and Russian civil war, 64; in World War II, 85, 86; Communist party, 94; and European cooperation, 95, 171; refused to sign test ban treaty, 114, 172; growth of nationalism in, 171-172; withdraws from NATO, 172; and Red China, 172

Franco, Francisco, *81, 82

Free World alliances, maps 10-11, 99-100; 85, 93, 95-96, 170

Gagarin, Yuri, 133

Geneva Summit Conference (1955), 102, *104

Germany: Social Democrats, 9; 1848 revolts, 15; Bolshevik peace treaty with, 63, *64; Communist revolt in (1919), 58, *79, 80; Nazi persecution of Communists, 80; Stalin's policy toward, 80; and Franco in Spanish Civil War, 82; Anti-Comintern Pact, 85; Soviet-German pact, 84, 85, 86; in World War II, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90; Allied occupation of, 90; summit negotiations on, 102; Communists in, 171. *See also* East Germany; West Germany.

Gerö, Ernő, 105, 106

Gomulka, Wladyslaw, 104, 105, 106, 164

Goods, production and distribution of: Marxist ideal, 9, 22-23; Soviet reality, 9, 25, 130; pre-Marxian discussions, 20; charts 130-131

Gorky, Maxim, 68

Gottwald, Klement, 91

Great Britain, 82; Labour party, 9; Industrial Revolution and consequences, 13-14; and Russian civil war, 64; in World War II, 85, 86, *87, 90, 91; wartime aid to Russia, 86, *87; and European cooperation, 95

Greece, U.S. aid to, 94, 96

Gromyko, Andrei, 93

Guerrilla warfare, Communist, 89, 90, 97, 172-173, 174

Hiss, Alger, 175

History, Marxist view of, diagrams 20-21

Hitler, Adolf, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86, 175, 182

Hook, Sidney, 136

Hoover, Herbert, 63

House without a Roof, Hindus, 76

Hoxha, Enver, 90, *160
Hungary, 86, 90; 1848 revolution, 15; 1919 Communist revolt, 58, *78; unrest in, 102, 104, 105; 1956 revolt, 85, 105-108, *107, 163; 1963 amnesty, 163; and "goulash" economy, 163, 164

I*diot, The*, Dostoevsky, 31
Imperialism, 59, 92; Communism, 84, 85, 103
Industrial Revolution, 13-14
Industrial Workers of the World, 79
Industrialization, Chinese: "Great Leap," 153-156; commune system, 153, 155; backyard iron production, 154
Industrialization, Russian: prewar industrialization, 65, 72-73, 77, 82; economic progress (1921-28), 72-75; limited capitalism, 72; Five-Year Plan (1928), 72, 77; collectivization, 72, 73, 134-135; forced labor, 74; economic progress in 1930's, 82; industrial production, 1928 ss.
1940, *diagram* 82; consumer goods production, ss. heavy industry, 101, *diagram* 130-131; postwar industrialization, 129-130, 136; industrial production compared to U.S., *diagram* 130-131, 138, 139; capital investment compared to U.S., *graph* 133; industrial plants, *138, 139

Internal Security Act, 175
International Workingmen's Association, 17, 26
Iron Curtain, 171
Jakra (The Spark), 35, 68
Italy: 1848 revolt, 15; aid to Franco, 82; Anti-Comintern Pact, 85; Communist party, 94-95

Japan, 171; war with China, 80, 96; in World War II, 84, 86; Anti-Comintern Pact, 85
Johnson, Lyndon B., 114, 119, 174, 176, *181
"July Days" crisis (1917), 43

Kadar, Janos, 162, 163
Kamenev, Lev, 69, 72, 76
Katyn Forest murders, 89
Kennan, George F., 69
Kennedy, John F., 109, 113, 114, 173, 178
Kerensky, Alexander, 40, 41, *43, 44, 60
Kerensky, Feodor, 32
Khrushchev, Nikita, *84, 85, *109; early career, 98; party

secretary, 98, 101; eliminates rivals, 101-102, 108; farm program, 101, 134-135; and Red China, 101, *102, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114; foreign policy, 102-103, 109; with foreign leaders, *102, *103, *104, *109, *114; change of Stalinist policies, 103-104; downgrades Stalin, 104, 109, 110, 154-155; showdown with Gomulka, 104-105; plot against, 108, 115; visit to U.S., 109, 110; and missiles in Cuba, 112-113; and test ban treaty, 114; and thaw in Cold War, 115; downfall of, 115-117, 119, 128, 160; quoted, 110, 111, 117, 162; mentioned, 76, 81, 89, 98, 103-104, 109, 110, 111, 112, 116, 117, 126, 128, 134, 159, 161, 162, 164, 179; and thermonuclear war, 110-111
Kirov, Sergei, 75-76
Komsomol, 125, 126, 127, 128
Komsomolskaya Pravda, 128
Korean War, 85, 92, 96-97
Kornilov, Lavr, 43
Kossuth, Louis, 15
Kosygin, Aleksai, 85, 116, *117, 118, 129, 130, 160
Kremlin, 62, *148-149
Kronstadt revolt, 66
Krupskaya, Nadezhda, 34
Kuibyshev hydroelectric plant, *138-139
Kulaks, 65, 73
Kun, Béla, 78
Kuomintang, 79

Labor theory of value, 22, 23
Labor unions in Marx's theories, 23; Lenin's view of, 35; U.S., 80-81; Russian, 82, 123
Lenin, N., 28, 29, 30, 31, *38, *39, *52, *61, *71; characterization, 67; given name, 28; impact on history, 29-30; departure from Marxism, 28-29, 34, 35-36, 59; hopes for world revolution, 29, 58, 78; methods of reaching party goals, 29; boyhood, 31-32; family of, *38-39; as revolutionist, 32, 33-36; theory of party organization of professional revolutionists, 34, 35, 36, 59; Siberian exile, 34-35; in exile abroad, 35, 36, 39; in 1905 revolt, 37; return to Russia (1917), 42-43, *52; April Theses, 42; stand against Mensheviks and Provisional Government, 42-43; in October Revolution, 43-44; peace, land, bread slogan, 42, 59; as head of gov-

ernment, 58-63, 65, 66, 67; use of terror, 62-63, 66-67; attempted assassination, 62; rule against party factions, 69-70; death and funeral, 70; testament of, 70; writings of, 35; quoted, 34, 38, 44, 59, 60, 61, 63, 103, 134; mentioned, 8, 58, 68, 69, 72, 80, 112
Lenin: A Biography, Shub, 60
Leningrad (formerly St. Petersburg and Petrograd), 9, 40, 63, 117, 123; siege of, 86
Lewis, John L., 81
Lincoln, Abraham, 179; Marx's tribute to, 22
Lvov, Prince Georgi, 41

Magsaysay, Ramon, 97
Malenkov, Georgi, 98, 101, 104, 116
Maletier, Pal, 106, 108
Mao Tse-tung, 79, *81, 101, *102, 110-111, 112, 117, 118, *153-155, 156, 158; and thermonuclear war, 110-111; and African and Asian nations, 111-112; and Cuba, 112
Marshall, George, 94
Marshall Plan, 94-95, 171
Marx, Jenny, 17-18, *19
Marx, Karl, *10; boyhood and education of, 16-17; life and work of, 17-18, 20; family of, 17-18, *19; Carl Schurz on, 23; lasting contribution of, 28; influence on Russian revolutionists, 33; quoted, 12, 21-22, 26; mentioned, 8, 9, 13, 28, 34, 112, 171, 173. See also Marxist theories.

Marxist movement in Russia, 33-36, 37; cause of split of, 37-38
Marxist theories, 20-26; view of history, *diagrams* 20-21; dialectical materialism, 21; class struggle, 21; on capitalism, 21-23; labor theory of value, 24, 25; wage-price-profit relationships, 23; expropriation of expropriators, 23; dictatorship of proletariat, 23-26, 93; wealth distribution, 24-25; view of social reform, 26; historical appraisal of, 25-26, 171; Communist departure from, 24, 28, 59, 93, 133
Masaryk, Jan, 91
Masaryk, Tomáš, 91
Materialism, dialectical, 20-21
Mensheviks, 8, 37, 41, 42, 43, 61; purged, 67
Michael, Grand Duke, 41
Michael, King of Rumania, 89
Mikolajczyk, Stanislaw, 90

Mikoyan, Anastas, 116, 160
Mindszenty, Cardinal, 106
Molotov, Vyacheslav, 86, 90, 94
Morality, Communist interpretation of, 77, 127
Moscow, 114; Red Square, *6; Kremlin, *148-149
Munich Agreement (1938), 82, 91
Mussolini, Benito, 82

Nagy, Imre, 104, 106, 108
"National-liberation wars," 86, 90-91, 93, 172
Nationalist China, 79, 96
NATO, 90-96, 171
Nazism, 80, 182
Nechaiev, Sergei, 32, 33
Neutralists. See Uncommitted nations.
Nicholas I, Tsar, 15
Nicholas II, Tsar, 31, 33, *35, 40, 41; abdication, 41, 62; execution, *56, 62
Nikolaev, Leonid V., 75-76
NKVD, 75
Novotny, Antonin, 161, 162
Nuclear test ban treaty. See Test ban treaty.
Nuclear war threat, 8, 109, 172

October Manifesto (1905), 37-38
One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, Solzhenitsyn, 133
Outer space, exploration of, 85, 110, 176, 182
Owen, Robert, 20

Paris Commune (1871), *24-25
Pasternak, Boris, *127, 133
Peaceful coexistence, 93, 103, 110, 117, 119
"People's democracies," 91, 93, 103
People's war of liberation, 119
"People's Will," 31, 34, 37, 42, 60
Pioneer Youth, 126
Plekhanov, George V., 33, 34, 35, 60
Poland, *164; re-established, 164; in World War II, 85, 89-90; Soviet-German partition of, 85; Allied negotiations on, 89; Stalin violates Allied agreements, 90; under Soviet control, 90; unrest in, 102, 104-105; relaxation of internal policies, 105, 159, 164-165; religion in, 164; friendliness toward the West, 164-165
Polish exile government, 89

Polish provisional government, 89, 90
"Popular fronts," 29, 82
Populists, Russian, 30-31, 37
Port Arthur, Japanese attack on, 36

Portsmouth, Treaty of, 37
Possessed, The, Dostoevsky, 33

Poznan riots, 104-105
Pravda, 42, 68, 69, 101, 115
Proletariat, 23, 31, 133. *See also* Dictatorship of proletariat.

Property: communal, 9, 20; man's desire for, 20; Marx's concentration of ownership, 23. *See also* Goods, production and distribution of.

Purges: Lenin's, 62-63, 67; Stalin's, 73-78, 92-93, 104, 132; since Stalin, 101; Khrushchev's nonbloody, 101-102, 108; of Khrushchev, 115, 116; of satellite leaders, 102; Red China, 153, 157, 180; Albania, 160

Rakosi, Matyas, 104, 105, 106
Rappallo pact, 80
Raspoutine, 40, 51

Red Army, 68; in civil war, 63, 64, 66, 68; and Trotsky, 73; loyal to Stalin in terror regime, 74; purges, 77; in eastern Europe, 86, 88, 89, 90; in Hungarian revolt, 106, 107, 108

Red China (*for events before 1949*, *see also* China), 96, 97, 101, 102, 152; strained relations with Russia, 100, 109-112; ideological split with Russia, 112, 118; refused to sign treaty with Russia, 114; first atomic explosion, 117; and Cuba, 118; and Afro-Asian countries, 118, 172; refused to attend 23rd Congress of Communist party (1966), 119; "liberal" Communist phase, 153; living conditions, 153, 154, 155-156; collectivization in, 153-156; lack of freedom in, 153, 159; anti-U.S. indoctrination, 156-157; 1966 purge in, 157; Red Guards in, 158; and nuclear bombs, 172. *See also* Agriculture; Industrialization.

Refugees, 158-159; East German, 162, 163

Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 85, 86

Roosevelt, Franklin D., 86, 88, 90, 175

Roosevelt, Theodore, 37

Rumania: German-Soviet ri-

valry, 86; Communist, 89, 90, 165

Russia (*for events since 1922*, *see also* U.S.S.R.): 19th Century, 14-15, 29-30, 32-33; revolutionist intelligentsia, 30-31; Marxist movement, 33-36; revolution of 1905, 35, 36-40, 41, 46-47, 68; First Soviet (1905), 37-38; Duma, 37, 39, 40, 41; in World War I, 40, 42, 52, 53, 61, 63; Soviets (1917), 41, 42, 43; Provisional Government (1917), 41-44, 177; Congress of Soviets, 44, 59; under Lenin, 58-67, 69, 70; Soviet of People's Commissars, 59-60; nationalization of industries, 59, 65; 1917 free election, 60-61; constituent assembly (1917), 60-61; press, control of, 60, 123; Bolshevik dictatorship and terror, 62-63, 66-67; peace treaty with Germany (1918), 63, 64; civil war, 58, 63, 64-65; famine, 65-66, 67; strikes, 66; economic breakdown (1918-21), 66; war communism, 66; New Economic Policy, 66. *See also* Russian Revolution.

Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin, Kennan, 69
Russian Communist party, 8, 9, 63; 1921 Party Congress and temporary retreat, 66; opposition and strikes against, 63, 64-66, 69; Politburo, 67; interparty rivalries to succeed Lenin, 68-69, 71-72; opposition to Stalin, 74; purges of, 74-75, 76-78, 92-93, 101; "Congress of the Victors" (1934), 77; interparty rivalries to succeed Stalin, 98, 100; 20th Congress (1956), 103-104; leadership upheaval (1957), 108; membership, 125-126; dominates government, chart 135; 23rd Congress (1966), 134. *See also* Bolsheviks.

Russian Constitutional Democratic party, 39, 60

Russian people: peasants, 74; workers, 75, 122, 131-132; workers' living standards, 131-132; woman workers, 32, 142, 144; political indoctrination, 123, 125, 180; youth, 123-125, 126-127, 129; yearning for truth, 123-124, 177; scientists, 126-127; moral standards, 128-129; atheist indoctrination, 128; Communist party members, 125-126; elite, 133-134; exploitation of, 136; U.S. atti-

tude toward, 177, 178, 179
Russian Revolution, 36-40; March Revolution, 40-41; abdication of Tsar, 41; "July Days" crisis, 43; Bolshevik (October) Revolution, 29, 43-44, 68

Russian Social Democratic Labor party, 8, 36, 38, 39, 41. *See also* Bolsheviks; Mensheviks.

Russian Socialist Revolutionary party, 37, 42, 44, 60, 61, 67

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, 60

Russo-Japanese War, 36
Rykov, Alexis I., 72, 77

Saint-Simon, Comte de, 20
Satellites, Soviet, map 10-11, 94, map 99, 103; Soviet exploitation of, 161, 165; unrest and revolt in, 102, 104-105; in Warsaw Pact, 165

SEATO, 172
Sergei, Grand Duke, 37
Shub, David, on Lenin, 60, 68
Sinyavsky, Andrei, 134
Smith Act, 175
Social Democrat, Marxist journal, 69

Social reforms, 9, 26, 177-178; Marx's view, 26
Socialism: definitions, 8-9; roots of, 18, 20; Soviet, 9, 103; utopian, 20
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, 133
Soviet of People's Commissars, 59-60

Soviet of Workers' Deputies: of 1905, 37, 38; of 1917, 41
Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies (1917), 41
Soviet Union. *See* U.S.S.R.
Spanish Civil War, 81-82
Sputnik, 181

Stalin, Joseph, 42, 48, 58, 60, 67, 71, 86; characterization, 69, 71-72; boyhood and early life, 68, 70-71; party secretary, 67, 71; conspiracy against Trotsky, 69-70; at Lenin's funeral, 70; eliminates rivals, 71-72, 101; and socialism in one country, 72, 78, 80, 176; Five-Year Plan (1928), 72; terror regime, 73-74, 104, 180; economic achievements, 82; pact with Hitler, 84, 85, 86; at Yalta Conference, 88, 89; violates Yalta pact, 80, 90; postwar economic, scientific, political goals, 92-93; postwar purges, 90, 92-93; and Tito, 102; death of, 97-98; downgrading of, 104, 110; quoted, 71, 72, 92, 134, 176; mentioned, 42,

60, 85, 98, 101, 102, 109, 110, 115, 116, 120, 123, 127, 130, 133, 134, 160, 161, 177
Stalingrad, Battle of, 86, 89
Stalinism: Soviet departments from, 103-104, 123; in Red China, 110

Stolypin, Peter, 39, 49
Suez Canal crisis, 104, 109
Summit Conference (1955), 102, 104

Sun Yat-sen, 79, 80
Surplus value: concept, 22; higher under Soviet exploitation of workers, 136

Tereshkova, Valentina, 126
Test ban treaty, 109, 114-115, 119, 172, 176
Tito, Josip Broz, 90, 102, 103, 104, 166

Tkachev, Peter, 30
Tolstoy, Leo, 134
Tomsky, Mikhail, 69, 72, 76
Trotsky, Leon, 37, 43, 59, 67, 73, 76; given name, 68; career of, 68-69; in 1905 revolt, 37, 43, 68; joins Bolsheviks, 43, 68; People's Commissar, 60, 71; conspiracy against, 69-70; criticism of party leaders and policy, 69, 71; murder of, 72
Truman, Harry, 94, 96
Truman Doctrine, 94, 96
Tukhachevsky, Mikhail, 64, 66, 77

Turgenev, Ivan, 30, 34
Turkey, U.S. aid to, 94, 96

Ulbricht, Walter, 162
Ulbricht, Walter, 162
Ulyanov, Alexander (Sasha), 31, 32, 38

Uncommitted nations, map 10-11; Soviet policy on, 103
Underdeveloped nations, aid to, 171, 178-179
Unions. *See* Labor unions.

United Nations, 93, 96, 106-107, 113
United States, social reforms, 9, 177-178; utopian communities, 20; relief aid to Russia (1921-22), 63, 67; and Russian civil war, 64, 66; Communists in, 79, 80-81, 174, 175; labor movement, 80-81; and Spanish Civil War, 81-82; in World War II, 84, 86, 90, 96; wartime aid to Russia, 86, 87, 91; forgoes capture of Berlin, 90; "containment" policy, 93; economic aid to Europe, 94; and West Berlin, 91, 95-96; and China, 96; and Korea, 96-97; aid to Yugoslavia, 102; and Communist bases in Cuba, 112-113; aid to

Russia, 114; economic comparisons with U.S.S.R., *diagrams* 130-131, *graphs* 133, 138, 139; trade policy, 171; anti-guerrilla forces, *173, 174; internal subversion, 174-175; military defense, 176; democracy in, 178-182; education, 181; civil rights, 181

U.S. Peace Corps, *170, *178

U.S.S.R. (for events before 1922, see also Russia): suppression of truth, 17, 123; departure from Marxist ideals, 9, 24, 26, 29, 59, 93, 133; named, 78; New Economic Policy, 66, 72-75; 1923 strikes, 69; party and army purges, 74-75, 76-78; show trials, 76; 1936 Constitution, 77; foreign opinions of, 77, 82, 108; relations with Communist parties abroad, 80-81, 90, 95; secret collaboration with Weimar Germany, 80; relationship with Hitler Germany, 80, 84; and Spanish Civil War, 81-82; and Czech crisis (1938), 82, 90-91; labor unions, 82, 123; Soviet-German pact, 84, 85-86; strives for world domination, 84, 85, 91, 92-93; in World War II, 84, 86, 89-90; Allied aid to,

86, *87, 91; and Poland, 85, 89-90; war losses and devastation, 91; postwar economic reconstruction, 91; exploitation of satellites, 91, 93, 160-162; scientific advances, 85, 92, 128-129, 176; postwar persecutions and purges, 90, 92-93; control of culture, 101; and Marshall Plan, 94-95; strained relations with Red China, 100, 109-112, 154-155; Khrushchev's foreign policy, 106-107, 109; change of Stalinist policies, 103, 104; and Hungarian revolt, 105-106, *107; leadership upheaval (1957), 108; (1964), 115-116; failures of collective-farm system, 114; and Vietnam, 119, 120; population, 122; size and geography, 122-123, *map* 124, 141; winters, 122; life in, 122-136, *137-151; communications, 123; individual freedom, 123; education, 123, 124, 126, *137, *151, 177, 181; elections, 123; religion, 123, 127, 128; women in work force, 125; military service, 126; science in, 126-127; and atomic bomb, 127; space achievements, *126, 127, 176, 179; industrial production in, 128-131; reforms

in government control, 129, 130; "blat" and economic crimes, 130-131; production compared with U.S., *chart* 130-131; state as employer, 131-132; life of workers in, 131-132, 132-133; income and taxation, 132, 133; housing, 132, 133, *145; culture in, 133-134; collectivization of farms in, 134-136; farm crisis in, 134-136; government organization, *chart* 135; farming compared to U.S., 135; movies and theater, *146-147; armament, 176; and disarmament, 104, 176. See also Agriculture; Industrialization; Russian Communist party; Russian people.

Utopian systems, 19

Versailles, Treaty of, 80

Vietcong, 173, *174

Vietnam: U.S. military aid, *173; North, 114, 119, 120, 171, 172, 173, 177; South, 85, *120, 172, 173, 174

Vyshinsky, Andrei, 76, 89

Warsaw, 89, 104, *164, 165; uprising (1944), 90

Warsaw Pact, 165

West Berlin, agreement on access to, 90, 91; blockade of,

91, 93, *94-95, 95-96

West Germany, change of U.S. postwar policy toward, 93-94

Westphalen, Ludwig von, 16

What Is to Be Done?, Chernyshevsky, 31, 32

What Is to Be Done?, Lenin, 35

White Russian government, 64

Wilson, Woodrow, 64, 66

Winter Palace, capture of, 44, *54-55

Workers, working and living conditions of: Western Europe, 19th Century, 13-14, *14-15; Russia, turn of century, 32-33; Soviet Union, 131-132, 133, 136, *141

World revolution, 9, 78; Lenin's aim, 29, 58, 78; vs. Stalin's socialism in one country, 72, 78, 80

World War I, 40, 42, *52

World War II, 80, 84, 85-90, 96, 171, 175, 176, 182

Yalta Conference, *88, 89, 175; Stalin violates agreements, 89-90

Yugoslavia, 11, 90, 99, 102, 158, 159, 165-166

Zhukov, Georgi, 86, 98, 101, 102

Zinoviev, Grigori, 69, 72, 76

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